DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 275 296 IR 012 352

AUTHOR Dodds, Tony; Inquai, Solomon
TITLE Education in Exile: The Educational Needs of Refugees. IEC Broadsheets on Distance Learning No. 20.
INSTITUTION International Extension Coll., Cambridge (England).
REPORT NO ISBN-0-903632-32-2
PUB DATE 83
NOTE 107p.
AVAILABLE FROM International Extension College, Office D, Dales Brewery, Gwydir Street, Cambridge CB1 2LJ England (7.50 British pounds).
PUB TYPE Reports - Research/Technical (143) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)

EDRS PRICE MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS Case Studies; *Developing Nations; *Distance Education; Interviews; Pilot Projects; *Refugees; Surveys; Teaching Methods
IDENTIFIERS International Extension College (England)

ABSTRACT

This report presents findings confirming the crucial role of education in enabling refugees to contribute actively to their own relief, and suggests ways in which appropriate education can be provided. The introduction reviews the history of the International Extension College (IEC), which exists to provide information and advice on distance teaching in third world countries, and the various projects IEC has been involved in since its inception in 1971. Findings and conclusions reported here are limited to eastern and southern Africa and Central America. Each case study presented is based on visits to the refugee communities, discussions with approximately 1,200 refugees in nine countries and various agencies working with them, and social surveys of a sample of their population. The experience of pilot projects using distance teaching methods in three of the communities studied is reflected in the studies and conclusions, even though conclusions from these projects are still tentative. Part I is a general introduction which reviews the history of international refugee movements, the legal status of refugees, and patterns of education provisions. Descriptive information from the nine case studies conducted are presented in Part II. Part III presents general conclusions about educational needs and the possibilities of provisions to meet these needs. Proposals for what can be done to extend educational services to refugees are presented in Part IV. The appendix contains interview samples. (DJR)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED275296

Education in Exile

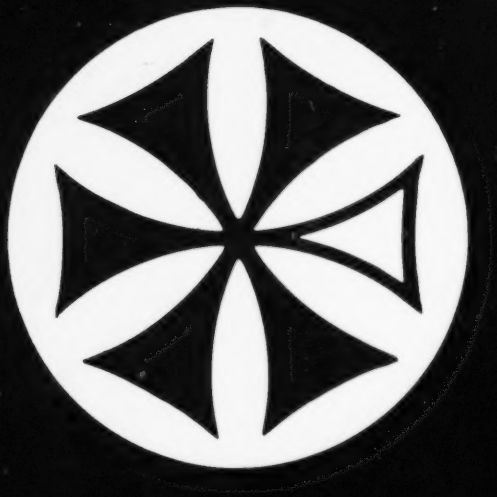
The educational needs of refugees

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

X This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.

☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.



International Extension College

IR012352

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

J.M. Bradley

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

IEC Broadsheets on Distance Learning No. 20

EDUCATION IN EXILE

The educational needs of refugees

by Tony Dodds and Solomon Inquai

International Extension College 1983

Acknowledgements

We are grateful to the following for collecting information and preparing case studies: Judy el Bushra, John Daniel, Kingdom Khutsoane, John Mbango, Victor Mourgiart and William Tunstall. We have also been helped to improve the report by our colleagues in IEC, Jo Bradley, Donald Chesworth, Janet Jenkins, Hilary Perraton, Prudence Smith, Maureen Stirling and Michael Young, who have read, commented on and helped to produce it in its various drafts.

The International Extension College

The International Extension College exists to provide information and advice on distance teaching: a technique of education combining the use of printed material, broadcasts and face-to-face tuition. IEC is particularly interested in te use of distance teaching for non-formal and rural education. It is a nonprofit organisation registered as a charity under English law, and has links with the National Extension College and the Department of Education in Developing Countries of the University of London Institute of Education.

IEC works with governments and universities in third world countries to provide information, consultancy and training for distance-teaching projects. At the request of the governments concerned, we have started colleges in Mauritius, Botwana and Lesotho, and worked with the University of Lagos, Nigeria, in establishing a Correspondence and Open Studies Unit.

The literature on distance teaching is growing, but it is often hard to find. As a result, educators planning to use correspondence and broadcast teaching to stretch resources and increase opportunities have little chance of benefiting from the experience of others. IEC's Broadsheets on Distance Learning give practical advice and information in the use of distance teaching, drawn mainly from experience in the third world. They focus on rural education, on the techniques of distance teaching, and on case studies of distance-teaching projects. A list of titles in the series will be found on the last page of this Broadsheet.

International Extension College
18 Brooklands Avenue
Cambridge CB2 2HN
England
ISBN 0 903632 32 2

Printed by the Russell Press Ltd, 45 Gamble Street, Nottingham NG7 4ET

© International Extension College 1983

Contents

	page
List of abbreviations	v
Introduction	vi
PART I : The world of refugees	
Chapter 1 : Three refugees' stories	1
Chapter 2 : The international and historical background	4
Introduction	4
The causes of the increase in refugee numbers	5
Areas of concentration of refugees	6
Assistance to refugees and its problems	6
Chapter 3 : Education for refugees	9
Introduction	9
Patterns of educational provision for refugees	10
PART II : Nine refugee communities	
Chapter 4 : Introduction	13
Chapter 5 : Refugees in east Africa	15
Somalia	17
Eritrean and Ethiopian refugees in the Sudan	20
Refugees in Kenya	24
Chapter 6 : Refugees from southern Africa	31
The Namibian Education and Health Centres in Zambia and Angola	32
South African refugees in Swaziland	37
Refugees in Botswana	43
Chapter 7 : Central American refugees	50
Refugees in Mexico City	51
Refugees in south-eastern Mexico	55
Refugees in Costa Rica	59
PART III : Emerging themes	
Chapter 8 : Variations and similarities	65
Chapter 9 : Primary schools, teacher training and support	68
The primary task	68
Alternative patterns of provision	68
The possibility of replication	70
Conclusions	71
Chapter 10 : Secondary studies for children and adults	72
The need in perspective	72
Different kinds of need	72
Alternative approaches to provision	73
Conclusions about replication	76
Chapter 11 : Adult and non-formal education	78
Into the unknown	78
Existing activities	78
Proposals for action	78
Conclusions	80
Chapter 12 : Vocational training and income generation	81
A felt need	81
Two levels of training	81
Existing schemes and plans	82
Conclusions for replication	84

PART IV : Proposals for action
Chapter 13 : A new initiative proposed 85
A World Refugee College 85
The functions of the World Refugee College 86
1. An emergency committee 87
2. Diagnostic research and project planning 87
3. Experimental projects 88
4. Information, advice and materials exchange and supply service 89
5. Materials design and development services 90
6. Finance 91
How will it work? 91
A central office in Britain 92
The Refugee Education Emergency Committee 92
An international panel of consultants 92
An international board of trustees 92
Immediate tasks 92
The establishment of the Sudan Extension Unit 93
Expanding the programme of the Namibian Extension Unit 93
A distance-teaching programme for South African refugees 93
Further developments for the Somali Institute of In-Service Teacher Training 93
Plans for a programme of education for refugees in Mexico 94
Setting up the central office 94

Appendix: Interview samples 96

Abbreviations used in this Broadsheet

ANC	African National Congress (South Africa)
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement (South Africa)
BPEAR	Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees (OAU)
CMAR	Comision Mexicana de Ayuda a los Refugiados
CONAPARE	Comision Nacional para Refugiados (Costa Rica)
COR	Commissioner of Refugees (Sudan)
CSA	Comite de Servicio de los Amigos (Mexico)
CSC	Council of Swaziland Churches
DNFE	Department of Non-Formal Education (Botswana)
EDC	Emlalatini Development Centre (Swaziland)
ERA	Eritrean Relief Association
ERC	Educational Resource Centre (Botswana)
IEC	International Extension College
IITT	Institute of Inservice Teacher Training (Somalia)
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IUEF	International University Exchange Fund
JRSK	Joint Refugee Service of Kenya
LWF	Lutheran World Federation
NEC	National Extension College (Britain)
NEU	Namibian Extension Unit
NGO	non-governmental organisation
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
PAC	Pan African Congress (South Africa)
REST	Relief Society of Tigray
SASO	South African Students Organisation
SCC	Sudan Council of Churches
SUM	Servicio Universitario Mundial (WUS)
SWAPO	South West Africa People's Organisation (Namibia)
TCRS	Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
Unesco	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation
UNHCR	United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
UNIN	United Nations Institute for Namibia
UNISA	University of South Africa
UNRWA	United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestinian Refugees
WCC	World Council of Churches
WFP	World Food Programme (United Nations)
WHO	World Health Organisation
WRC	World Refugee College
WUS	World University Service

Introduction

Emergency refugee relief usually, and for most people, means the provision of tents and blankets, of food supplies to prevent starvation and medical supplies to check or prevent disease. This report in no way attempts to undermine the importance of such vital emergency assistance. However, the study on which it is based starts from the belief that there is something missing in this package of relief, namely educational services. The findings which we report here confirm this view. Education has a crucial role to play in enabling refugees to contribute actively to their own relief. Certainly refugees are convinced of this, and international agencies working with them seem to be recognising it more and more clearly. Our report sets out to provide evidence in support of this belief and to suggest ways in which education can be provided.

We propose, on the basis of our findings, to set up, within the International Extension College (IEC), a new unit which will ensure that the planning and provision of educational services, both formal and non-formal, can be included from the beginning of refugee crises. This will entail the creation, in response to new crises, of emergency teams of educators, including specialists from the country or region of asylum, and representatives of the refugees themselves. Their job will be to assess what can be done to provide continuing education and training for refugees of all ages, so as to improve their opportunities for jobs, for self-help, for integration, for security and for survival. In most cases the unit's work will also include the creation and support of new networks through which existing educational resources, both local and international, can be made available and if necessary adapted and supplemented to meet the needs such teams expose.

The IEC was set up to provide information, training and consultancy on distance education - the combined use of broadcasting, print and face-to-face tuition. Since our foundation, in 1971, we have tried to do this with particular reference to the third world. From time to time throughout our existence those concerns have brought us into contact with the special needs of refugees.

During 1971 and 1972, in IEC's first year of existence, we were invited by the Bangladesh government in exile to advise them on ways of developing educational programmes for the 10 million Bangladeshi refugees, both children and adults, around Calcutta (in India). By the time our proposals had been drawn up and approved, and before they were fully financed, Bangladesh had become independent and the refugees had returned home. Six years later we were involved with the Mennonite Central Committee in Botswana in discussions about the provision of educational services for Soweto refugees in Gaborone. On this occasion the main link was with our sister college, the then Botswana Extension College (BEC), though in the event support was provided by both BEC and the National Extension College in Britain. The project later became the Educational Resource Centre, and features in our Botswana case study later in this report. Finally, in 1980 we were invited by the Commonwealth Secretariat to carry out a consultancy with SWAPO of Namibia, on the development of a new educational initiative for Namibian refugees in Angola and Zambia. This was to lead to plans for the Namibian Extension Unit, which appears prominently later in this report.

These three contacts with the needs of refugees led us to the hypothesis that distance teaching, our stock-in-trade, had special relevance to the extension and improvement of educational services for refugees generally.

We therefore drew up a proposal to carry out an international feasibility study on the use of distance-teaching methods for refugees, a proposal which the World University Service (WUS), through its international office in Geneva, agreed to finance. The present report is the outcome of this study, which we carried out between 1981 and 1983.

As it has worked out, our study has concentrated on Africa and on central America. Our original intention was to include some studies among refugees in south-east Asia, but this proved impossible, mainly because of the size of the task of covering three such diverse regions of the world. We therefore limited our studies to two parts of Africa - eastern and southern Africa - and to central America, selecting, somewhat pragmatically, three refugee communities for study in each of these regions. Our findings and conclusions, therefore, apply only to these areas, though we hope that developments resulting from them will be applicable, through further action research, to other parts of the world as well.

Our studies in the countries we have visited have concentrated on educational needs, ambitions, current provision and possibilities. We have tried to see these in the context of the kinds of societies in which refugees live, the facilities available to them, their inevitably deprived conditions, the structure of their communities, and their prospects of return home, settlement or onward movement. Each of the case studies is based on visits to the communities, discussions with refugees in these communities and with the various agencies working with them, and, in most cases, with social surveys of a sample of their population.

The information we present reflects the situation when each case study was undertaken. Although numbers and conditions in some communities have altered since, our findings stand as evidence in support of the proposal mentioned in the second paragraph of this introduction. The speed with which the circumstances of a refugee community can change is, if anything, an added reason for setting up a unit which can respond quickly to new developments.

From the outset we intended our study to include some attempts at action research, so that we could test our hypothesis in practice as well as in theory. Three of the studies, therefore, are of communities in which we hoped to establish pilot projects, using distance-teaching methods, in the course of carrying out the study. In only one of these, among Namibian refugees in Angola and Zambia, has the project actually been working for a significant period, though not long enough for any serious evaluation to have been conducted. In the Sudan, we hope that the proposed project is about to start; in Somalia the IEC proposals have failed to attract the necessary funds, though another distance-teaching project has started and has successfully completed its first cycle of operation. The experience of these pilot projects is reflected in our studies and conclusions, even though conclusions from them must as yet be tentative.

Part I of the report is a general introduction, reviewing the history of international refugee movements, the changing legal status of refugees and patterns of educational provision. The first chapter, however, presents three selected personal accounts of refugees from different African countries. These do not claim to be representative; they are the stories of individuals. We hope they serve to emphasise that this study is about individuals, even though millions of individuals, and about their hopes, fears and frustrations.

Part II consists of nine case studies which we carried out for the project. Much of the descriptive information in eight of these case studies is based on surveys we commissioned of samples drawn from the refugee populations in the regions concerned. It proved impossible in any of the surveys to select the samples on a strictly random basis, because of the unplanned nature of most refugee settlements and the lack of accurate information about their populations. Thus statistically accurate predictions cannot be made on the conclusions drawn from them. They are used to indicate trends, and to make judgements about the quality of life and the nature of eduational needs and priorities rather than to predict the numbers of potential students for particular courses. (More information about the samples is given in the Appendix, p.96.)

On the evidence from the nine studies we draw out in Part III certain general conclusions about educational needs and about the possibilities of increasing provision to meet these needs.

Finally, in Part IV, we present a set of proposals based on our conclusions, for what can be done to extend educational services for refugees, through improved international support and by a sharing of experience and resources. For our study convinces us that such an extension is both necessary and possible. We are equally convinced that intensified international support to help refugee communities to help themselves is a necessary part of that extension.

We therefore propose the establishment of a new and specialised educational service to concentrate on the development of education, on the spot, in each community of refugees, according to specifications determined by the refugees and by the agencies working with them. Such a service would have four main tasks:

1. to set up emergency teams to diagnose needs and make plans to meet them;
2. to advise and assist in the implementation of such plans;
3. to collect and supply information on experience elsewhere and on existing materials or courses which are suitable for transfer;
4. to mobilise international concern and support and, in particular, to raise funds for educational projects among refugees.

The study is largely based on the views expressed, in interviews, by more than 1,200 refugees in nine different communities. We have been wholly reliant on their good will and on the time and information they gave us. Similarly the study could not have been carried out without the financial and professional support of WUS and the co-operation of many governments and agencies responsible for and working with refugees. We hope that the proposals that emerge will provide a basis for many new educational initiatives by all the agencies and people concerned, and many others, which in turn will help to restore to many more refugees their basic human right to education.

PART I - The world of refugees

Chapter One : Three refugees' stories

1. 'I was born in Addis, and in 1974 had reached 12th Grade, when I was sent to Moyale, staying for eight months. Then, nine of us crossed into Kenya. There were more than fifty students sent to Moyale, only about a dozen escaped. Of my group I am the one remaining, the rest having got to Europe and USA for study or just to live. One returned to Addis in 1976 and hasn't been heard of since... it is not too difficult to get letters or messages through.

   Although life was hard at first I was given a place at Kabete [in 1979 with another Ethiopian] to do range management. All the Kenyans on the course have immediate placement, but I have had this qualification for over six months and no work. After all the money invested in us it is frustrating and demoralising for other students. I am willing to move or study some more but cannot go back [to Ethiopia].'

2. 'I am twenty-six years old. I was born in Namibia. I attended school in my town from age seven until I went to secondary school in Windhoek and I completed my matric in Windhoek in a mission school. I speak Afrikaans, English, Herero and a bit of Damara. We were a big family at home and fortunately my father sent us to school, probably because of missionary influence on him and indeed as it is the case in most Namibian families.

   I cannot say when exactly my political involvement, nay awareness, started. I grew up in a nation which worshipped its heroes and each time I was confronted with racial attitude my awareness developed and anti-racist attitudes hardened. I remember one day when I was still a small boy, I was confronted by six burly Boer boys who started beating me up for nothing. From that moment on, my hatred for whites started. When I was at secondary school the question of Namibia was taken to the International Court of Justice in the Hague and the question of the illegality of South African occupation was decided. From that moment on my attitude became anti-Boer occupation and subsequent to that the killing and arrests of political activists only served to antagonise us from Boers. The mass strikes of people in Katutura Township in 1972 also affirmed this conviction - the high handed manner in which dissent was dealt with rapidly changed my outlook politically. I was expelled from high school and I completed my matric as a private candidate.

   After completing matric I worked for a private company from 1976 to 1979. I left that job and worked for another private company as a clerk. In both these jobs there was a lot of discrimination and apartheid. Our salaries were not the same as those of the white clerks. There were separate toilet facilities and no canteen arrangement for the black staff. I became an activist for my party and the South African security police started looking for me. I was forced to go into hiding for some time, three months to be more exact, and in that period all my comrades were arrested and I was told that they were after me. Finally I managed to flee to Botswana where I sought political asylum. I have been here now since last year. No, I am not attending school here in Dukwe. You see the school here does not offer the type of course I want to do. I want to be a technician. I want to do either air-conditioning or

refrigeration. I would have enrolled with the school, if these courses I want were available. I have contacted the social counsellor here and have applied for placement in any country which is willing to take me. I do not know what I am going to do with myself because apparently it is difficult to get scholarships. I had hoped to get placement to Cyprus but it is difficult to get. I do not know what is delaying them. We were told that we will go in April, then they postponed it to May then July. They keep on postponing it. I have not applied to local schools because they do not have enough technical schools around here [Botswana].

We have our own books around here and we hold discussions every now and then. We have a communal garden and we hope to produce enough vegetables to supplement the rations we get from authorities here. We pool our rations together and that way we are able to survive. It would have been very difficult indeed, if we were all by ourselves. I participate as a member of our community in decision-making.

I want to get technical eduation so that I can be able to contribute effectively in the development of a free Namibia of tomorrow. I cannot say where I will be in the next five years, I do not want to go anywhere else to settle because Namibia is next country to be free. It can be free next year or even in two years. You see today they are discussing Namibia everyday in the papers. There is a lot of pressure on South Africa to terminate her illegal occupation of Namibia and hopefully it is not very long before they allow free and fair elections and then we will go home.'

3. 'I am a South African female. Age 24. I come from a typical South African middle-class background. My father was a primary school teacher who after some years mainly through correspondence managed to obtain matric and was promoted to be principal. My mother was a nurse. We are not a very big family but I was the favourite of my father and grandfather.

I sailed through primary, secondary and high school and finally passed my matric. I did not get admission into university so my parents advised me to do nursing. I enrolled for nursing, and just before I wrote my final examinations I was forced to abandon my studies because police were looking for me. The nursing college I attended had been looking for a pretext just like that to expel me from nursing. I was from the very beginning quite outspoken in almost every area. I was articulate and highly critical of racial attitudes prevalent in the hospital at that time. I was almost always elected spokeswoman of trainee nurses and this led to suspicions in their [authorities] minds that I was a ring leader. So I was fired and prevented from writing my final examinations.

I immediately enrolled with the University of South Africa [UNISA] for a degree in social work. I gradually became more and more involved in politics. By the time I was expelled from nursing I was a fulltime member of the South African Student Organisation [SASO] and I was actively involved in community development projects. We were running health education and preventive medicine studies in and around Durban. We had teamed up with medical students and we were also conducting literacy classes at the same time too. In 1974, a lot of our comrades were arrested and things were really tough for us. They [comrades] were arrested for organising a pro-Frelimo rally. This time I was actively forming branches all over the

country. The same year too a friend and my best comrade was killed in Botswana with a parcel bomb. I was terribly angry.

In 1976, Soweto uprising came up and I was forced to join up with other people oganising relief and assistance to the families affected. I was arrested on several occasions and released. We were able to give comfort to the families of affected members. In 1977 they banned all seventeen black organisations and in the same year they killed Steve Biko. All the people I had worked with were either killed, in exile or in prison. After the banning of the organisations I decided to come to exile, more so because the South African security police were arresting all known activists and I no longer felt safe in South Africa. I was told by other people who had been arrested and later released that the security police were vowing that if they catch me I will "shit bricks".

I came to exile. I stayed in Gaborone and last year the government decided to send us to Dukwe. Dukwe is a lousy place as you can see for yourself. There is nothing happening here and the authorities are not co-operative. Look at the house I am staying in. Not fit to be called a house. I want to live comfortable. I want a gas stove, a refrigerator - this place is a desert. I want to eat good food for human consumption, nothing more, nothing less.

I do not want to waste my time with the Resource Centre. I do not want to go to school there. I have better things to do. I want to do medical technology. Botswana does not have medical technology so I want to go outside Botswana. I do not want to stay in Botswana for ever. I want to go to Azania as soon as possible. I cannot tell you where I will be in the next year, even less about in two years' time.'

Chapter 2 : The international and historical background

Introduction

Crisis makes news, and big crisis makes big news. Every time an upheaval occurs somewhere in the world the media are there to show us all the gruesome developments of the event. Human crises are newsworthy only when they are fresh, except on the rare occasion when an inquisitive journalist follows up the crisis some time later. Though crises make transitory news, however, their effects linger on long after everything is forgotten.

The second half of this century is full of news of displaced peoples, and this news comes from all corners of the globe. In the last decade stories about refugees have been making continual headlines. The plight of refugees, whether from Namibia, South Africa, the Horn of Africa, Indo-China, Afghanistan, Chad, Uganda, Poland, El Salvador, Chile, Guatemala or Nicaragua, has always been in the forefront of the news. If we are to judge by current developments, humanity is poised for more news of the same nature from these and other sensitive areas of the world.

Mass movement of people is nothing new. It has always been going on, but its novelty rarely wears off. This century has seen far greater human tragedy than any other century in recorded history, except perhaps when the European poor migrated and black slaves were exported en masse to the new world. Revolutions, two world wars and crises of expectation have all taken their toll.

The world used not to be amenable to receiving refugees. However, we have gradually changed our attitudes and reaction to, and our treatment of, refugees. Political considerations coloured nations' reactions to refugees in the past, and countries responded inconsistently to different crises. Britain, for example, had for a long time a strict regulation to discourage the entry of refugees for permanent settlement. She preferred to accept only people who were in transit and had definite plans to migrate to other parts of the world. Until after the second world war Britain tended to treat refugees in an ad hoc manner. However, other European countries, notably France, Holland and Belgium, had a more liberal policy than Britain on the admission of refugees; as Angell and Buxton put it:

> 'The present [British] policy results in exclusion so rigid that this country receives fewer refugees than Belgium, fewer than Holland, less that one in twenty for those received by France. The execution of this policy means infliction of imprisonment, torture, death on tens of thousands of helpless beings - a prolonged torture of delayed hopes, ending in the victim's imprisonment or death' (Angell and Buxton, You and the refugee: the morals and economics of the problem, Penguin, Harmondsworth, 1939).

After the war and the aftermath of German treatment of the Jews, the situation in western Europe relaxed appreciably, making it possible for many more refugees to be accepted on a permanent basis. As a result Britain admitted more refugees after the war than it had done previously. One factor that apparently contributed to this relaxation was the post-war economic boom, and the acute labour shortage that accompanied it. In other words pragmatic, rather than humanitarian, considerations were primarily responsible for this change of policy. In the course of three years (1947-50) Britain admitted 166,300 east Europeans. These were

easily absorbed into jobs specified for them by the Ministry of Labour and National Service.

A consequence of the massive refugee movements in Europe after the second world war was to accelerate the adoption in Geneva of the 1951 convention on the status of refugees. Subsequently, recognition that the existence of refugees was not exclusively a European phenomenon, but a world problem, resulted in the acceptance of the 1967 protocol. This protocol abolished the time and geographical limits on refugee status that were inherent in the convention (Melander and Nobel (eds.), African refugees and the law, Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, 1978, p.91). In 1969 the Organisation of African Unity adopted a convention relating to African refugees, thus considerably broadening the prospect of international co-operation on refugee problems at a regional level. However, the conventions, despite the widening of purpose, were not adequate to cover all categories of displaced people. As the Swedish minister for international development co-operation put it: 'Today, many people who have been forced to leave their home countries are regrettably not protected by the international agreements on refugees, although they may have very valid reasons for not wishing to go back to their native countries. Many of these people find themselves in a grave situation, because of the present definition of the term "refugee"' (ibid., p.13). The international community also must find ways of ensuring adequate protection for those known as de facto refugees (ibid. p.18). The plight of refugees is further complicated by the fact that some countries, such as Italy, have not acceded to the convention, and thus do not recognise the existence of refugees.

The causes of the increase in refugee numbers

The reasons for the growth in the numbers of refugees are perhaps more complicated than at first appears. People never want to leave their homes, unless conditions are unbearable, and most refugees in any case see their exodus as temporary. Most of the refugees in the world today come from the third world, although there are always some fleeing from the eastern bloc countries. Most of the countries currently producing large numbers of refugees are undergoing, or have undergone, profound social upheavals, uprooting existing mechanisms for social cohesion and bringing age old conflicts to the fore. These changes, whether positive or negative, are revolutionary changes, intended to change the existing order over a short period. In most such countries a civil war or war of national liberation is going on, or has just been concluded, as in Vietnam. Wars divide people sharply, and those caught in the theatre of war lack safety and security.

In several of the countries which have produced refugees, a particular section of society feels it has been deprived by these sudden changes of its basic human rights or of its rights to continue its accustomed way of life. In this category are the refugees from eastern European countries, from Vietnam and from Iran. They may be religious or national minority groups, or members of a once privileged class that has been recently dispossessed.

Another category of refugee is the so-called economic refugees. These are people who flee from disasters, both natural and manmade. Usually they stay in their own countries, but occasionally they cross international boundaries and seek refuge in neighbouring countries.

Areas of concentration of refugees

There are more than ten million refugees in the world today, and half of them are in Africa. The rest are mainly divided between Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. The highest concentration of refugees is today to be found in Pakistan, where over two million Afghans are living. In Asia the second largest group have come from Indo-China. These include the so-called 'boat people', and those who have fled from Kampuchea to Thailand and Vietnam. Their numbers have fluctuated, as more and more are successfully resettled in Europe and north America. The total number of Laotians, Vietnamese and Kampucheans involved is perhaps close to a million, but since there have been movements in both directions a definitive figure has never emerged.

The second largest concentration in the world is in the Horn of Africa, where refugees from Eritrea and Ethiopia have fled to Somalia and the Sudan. The numbers, although often contested, are said to be two million, with nearly 1.5 million in Somalia and more than half a million in the Sudan. The Sudan also hosts a large number of refugees from Uganda, Zaire and Chad. The war-torn country of Namibia has also produced a large number of refugees, living in Angola and Zambia. And the repressive government of South Africa, which is behind the tragedy in Namibia, has forced many of its own nationals to flee. The prospect of more refugees leaving South Africa looms, as resistance and repression there increase.

In recent years Latin America has also been producing more and more refugees. Cuba, Chile, following the fall of Allende and the coming to power of the military dictatorship, Guatemala, El Salvador and Nicaragua after the fall of Somoza, are some of the countries which have generated these increasing numbers. Latin American refugees as a rule integrate easily with the local population, but in recent years there has been a marked increase of refugee concentrations in Honduras, Mexico, Nicaragua, Belize and Costa Rica.

Another persistent refugee movement has been the dispersal of the Palestinian people, first from their homes in the 1940s, and more recently from their camps in Lebanon to the four corners of the earth, with no apparent solution to their plight.

In the last decade, while it is true that the number of refugees has grown, there have also been a few cases of happy conclusions, so that a great many have been able to return home. The best known is the cessation of hostilities in the Sudan and the return of large numbers of people from Ethiopia, Uganda and Zaire. Another example is the fall of Amin and the return home of many Ugandans. The end of the liberation war in Zimbabwe also created the necessary conditions for thousands of displaced people to return home, as people from Guinea Bissau, Angola and Mozambique had done before them. However, even in these happier outcomes there remains an element of unease. Although thousands of Ugandans returned home following the fall of Idi Amin, thousands more are leaving because of continued fighting and general instability. The same is to some extent true of Angola and more recently of Chad and Zimbabwe.

Assistance to refugees and its problems

Countries of first asylum and countries of resettlement provide the basic support a refugee needs: reception, processing of individual cases and removal from the zone of danger. These countries normally make their services available to refugees according to the requirements of the

international conventions. Theoretically a refugee is entitled to make use of schools, health facilities, and other services that will speed his integration into the host society. However, the ability of a country to meet the demands made by refugees on its social services may be limited. Many countries have their resources so overstretched by the sheer weight of numbers that they cannot begin to cope without assistance. A country like the Sudan, which has always been liberal in its policy of accepting refugees, is unable to provide all the services the refugees need. Its own schools are nowhere near adequate even for its own nationals. Being one of the least developed countries in the world, it has no resources to embark on a major expansion. In addition, a language barrier faces refugees entering the Sudan. The Sudan receives refugees from five different countries: Eritrea, Ethiopia, Uganda, Zaire and Chad. Apart from a small minority, the 600,000 refugees within its borders do not speak its national language, Arabic. Similar difficulties exist in other countries in Africa and Asia that have accepted large numbers of refugees. The situation in Latin America is slightly different, because most countries use Spanish. Nevertheless strains due to numbers exist even in countries where language is not a problem.

Many third world countries which offer asylum to refugees receive aid from international, bilateral and non-government agencies. This aid in the first instance covers food, medicine and the construction of adequate shelters. It is given in the form of money, food supplies, medicine, equipment and manpower. The major international organisations involved are the UNHCR, the World Food Programme (WFP), UNICEF, UNDP, WHO, ILO and Unesco. The World Council of Churches (WCC) and the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) are two of the main international non-governmental organisations (NGOs), carrying out large scale relief and rehabilitation work the world over. The number of NGOs involved in aid to refugees is very large. While some are working in relief, a great many of them work in development projects aimed at improving the long-term prospects of refugees. NGOs are generally humanitarian or religious organisations committed to improving the welfare of displaced people and people affected by manmade and natural catastrophes. By and large they are western organisations.

There is another group of agencies working very closely with the refugees: their own organisations. These can be humanitarian or charitable organisations formed by nationals from the country of origin with the support of well-wishers, or liberation movements, which take it upon themselves to look after the welfare of the refugees. Such organisations receive aid both from international NGOs and occasionally from bilateral sources, which they administer on behalf of the refugees.

Most aid to refugees is for emergency relief work: the provision of shelter, food and medical care to prevent disease or starvation resulting from the appalling conditions forced upon refugees when they first arrive in the country to which they flee. These physical emergencies tend to be overwhelming when they first occur, both for the refugees and for their hosts. It is then, usually, that the drama of their plight attracts international attention and often public humanitarian relief funds. Inevitably most of the funds and nearly all the efforts and resources of host governments and of the relief agencies are spent on dealing with the emergency, which at the time nearly always seems beyond relief. But in most refugee situations the problem continues well beyond the period of crisis and of international publicity. Emergency aid, by its very nature temporary, provides only temporary solutions. Longer-term measures need to be initiated from the earliest stage of the crisis - measures concerned

with long-term settlement, integration and self-reliance. But most refugee relief agencies are ill equipped to work for such long-term solutions, and most host governments are at first reluctant to consider them.

Aid to refugees, although in the first instance concerned with short-term relief work, should also tackle the problem of their future prospects, either when they are repatriated, or with their integration in the host country. This aspect of aid to refugees entails education and training, settlement or relocation schemes, and job placement. It means formalising their status by registering them and giving them proper documents and laying the groundwork for their eventual attainment of full citizenship in the host country.

How adequate is this assistance to refugees? The commitment to help refugees on the part of the international organisations, NGOs, humanitarian agencies and the refugees' own organisations, is real. But compared with the need, the scale of operations is woefully inadequate. Many international organisations depend on, and work in close co-operation with, national governments. The size of contribution or the kind of involvement offered is thus dictated by what member states are willing and ready to give. It has recently become evident, for instance, that the amount of aid money available per head for work in south-east Asia is significantly higher than that for work in Africa. As a result the services available in Africa are not comparable in standard or coverage. The conditions under which third world countries accept refugees also vary from place to place. For example, whereas Thailand is ready to push back Kampuchean refugees unless the international community will guarantee massive aid, countries like the Sudan and Somalia receive refugees as a matter of principle and subsequently ask for help. The result is that refugees in the Sudan attract proportionally less aid than those in Thailand. This state of affairs is reflected in the services available for refugees.

One solution being offered to the problem of refugees is resettlement in the developed world. Europe and America have accepted large numbers of people from Indo-China and given them permanent homes. Small numbers of people from the Horn and southern Africa have also been offered resettlement opportunities. But this solution creates more problems for those who are left behind. For it is the educated elite among the refugees who are accepted for resettlement. And it is they who because of their language competence and skill training are most capable of earning money for the community and of helping it to communicate with and become part of the host society.

Perhaps the biggest problem in the provision of aid to refugees in third world host countries is the severe strain such aid puts on the very meagre resources available for providing basic services and development potential for their own people. There is a danger that when international aid is made available for the development of services to refugees such services may be better than those available to the local inhabitants. It is vitally important, therefore, that aid to refugees, who are often settled in the most remote and deprived parts of the host countries, should provide for the parallel development of the local people among whom they have been forced to settle. This applies in particular to the provision of education, one of the main means of assisting the long-term development and welfare of refugees, which is the subject of the next chapter.

Chapter 3 : Education for refugees

Introduction

The people who leave their homes come from all classes of society. In the past the highly educated and the economically better off were the most affected by social upheavals. However, as the numbers of refugees increase it seems that more and more rural people, and members of the most deprived sectors of society, are coming. The refugees in the Sudan, Somalia, Pakistan, Thailand and increasing numbers in Latin America are of rural origin, people with little or no education. There are more women and children in the refugee communities, as the men go further afield in search of work or may be involved in armed struggles. In the following paragraphs we shall review briefly what form of education is available for the refugees, who is benefiting, what are the main problems they face in their quest for education, and which organisations are involved in refugee education.

Article 22 of the 1951 Geneva Convention reads:

> '1. The Contracting States shall accord to refugees the same treatment as is accorded to nationals with respect to elementary education.
>
> 2. The Contracting States shall accord to refugees treatment as favourable as possible, and, in any event, not less favourable than that accorded to aliens generally in the same circumstances with respect to education other than elementary education and, in particular, as regards access to studies, the recognition of foreign school certificates, diplomas and degrees, the remission of fees and charges and the award of scholarships.'

This part of the convention has not always been put into effect in the same way. Refugees seeking asylum in the developed countries of the west have fared better educationally than those in third world countries. Developed countries generally have universal and compulsory primary education, and all refugee children in those countries have to attend school for a certain number of years. In addition, refugees receive language and other training to speed up and simplify their integration into the host society.

However, we cannot say the same of African states. Many of the countries in Africa that give asylum to refugees are poor, and do not as yet have universal primary education. As a result many give preference to their own nationals, especially where schooling is free. Another obstacle to the admission of refugee children is the language problem. A number of countries have given asylum to refugees from neighbouring countries who speak completely different languages. Often refugees, especially when their numbers are large, are housed in camps separate from the general public, and the tendency is to set up separate schools, which are often inadequate for the numbers needing education. Primary education for refugees has in many countries become a co-operative effort between UNHCR, national governments, voluntary bodies and refugee organisations.

Refugees fare even worse in post-primary schools, where limited numbers of places are made available for them in secondary and vocational education and training. Such provision remains a major problem, especially as more and more refugee children complete primary education in host countries. In

addition a small number of refugees are eligible for university education.

We have mentioned that the refugees come from both urban and rural backgrounds. The urban refugees are by and large better educated and much more likely to seek assistance for their own education. Rural refugees are primarily concerned about the education of their children.

Patterns of educational provision for refugees

The easiest way of organising education for refugees is to offer scholarships. A number of voluntary agencies and international organisations are involved in scholarship schemes for refugees. The most important bodies in this field are the World University Service, UNHCR, UNICEF, Unesco, the World Council of Churches, the Lutheran World Federation, the OAU's Bureau for the Placement and Education of African Refugees (BPEAR), and the Commonwealth Secretariat. Some governments also help, either through the international organisations or directly on a bilateral basis, as do a host of voluntary agencies for whom this is not a major activity. Post-secondary scholarships have been offered at European and North American universities and more recently at an increasing number of African universities. A few agencies have a general fund which can be used for any refugee irrespective of his or her origin. Most have specialised funds for refugees from a particular country, like the funds for Namibians and for people from South Africa, or the Commonwealth Secretariat scholarship scheme for Zimbabweans.

Over the years increasing numbers of refugees have been awarded scholarships. This approach raises two issues. The first and most direct question is: What does the refugee do and where does he go after completing his studies? Many who have travelled abroad on scholarships have a third world country as their first country of asylum. Job prospects in such countries are often limited. A number of refugees attending western European or north American universities have tried to change their domicile by seeking refugee status in the countries where they are studying. However, it is not always easy to change the country of official asylum and a number find themselves in limbo, not knowing what the future holds for them.

The second consequence of awarding scholarships to the better educated refugees is to divide the community, leaving behind those with little or no education. This creates problems in providing services for refugees, because those left behind do not have the necessary background and skills to be easily trained to take up jobs. Teaching and medical assistance posts are becoming more and more difficult to fill from the ranks of the refugees themselves. In this respect scholarship programmes have the same effect as resettlement schemes.

Many organisations concerned about education are slowly realising that it must be provided on the spot for the unfortunate majority. This provision must include school education, various forms of adult education, and training in productive schools. Such activities, particularly school education, are often run in collaboration with the host country. Many adult education and skill training projects are run by the humanitarian organisations, which employ field staff and send volunteers to work among refugees. Literacy work and training in crafts or productive agriculture are increasing in importance. The major humanitarian organisations are shifting the emphasis of their work from short-term emergency relief to long-term development projects, with the result that they are beginning to run education and training programmes. Examples of such activities can be

found in the work of Concern among the Kampuchean refugees in Thailand, and that of Trocaire (an Irish church charity) in Latin America. WUS has also been moving away from scholarship awards towards providing education and training on the spot, and has recently undertaken the provision of a library for refugees in Djibouti. Other bodies are concerned with teacher training (Somalia) and the provision of school education. Among the larger organisations involved in training and education is the Lutheran World Federation, which is setting up schools, both primary and secondary, and training facilities, using its own resources and those of, for instance, UNHCR.

The most sophisticated and the oldest educational organisation for refugees has been the UNRWA-Unesco Institute for Palestinian refugees. This originally had its headquarters in Beirut, Lebanon, but it moved to Vienna, Austria, because of security problems. It operates in a number of countries where there are Palestinian refugees and uses distance teaching to train teachers for primary, secondary and vocational schools. It also offers post-secondary education and training to qualified students. A great deal has been written about this project since its establishment in 1964. It should be added that the institute is more than an educational organisation. It is also involved in relief work, health services, and the administration of these services.

An example of a small but successful undertaking is the provision of education for refugee children from Burundi, Rwanda and Zaire in northern Tanzania. In 1975 there were 171,000 refugees there. The project was run by the government in co-operation with the Tanganyika Christian Refugee Service, and received assistance from a number of organisations. The project involved an elaborate relief and rehabilitation programme, including primary schools, and was successful in all respects. The refugees were eventually granted Tanzanian citizenship and are now fully integrated into the local society. This is a very desirable approach to the problem of the education of refugees.

Another approach that has worked successfully has operated through the refugees' own organisations. Refugees often find it necessary to develop a degree of self-reliance and to avoid unnecessary dependence on the overstretched resources of their host countries. This they consider as a necessary preparation for eventual return to their homeland, and the possible assumption of responsibilities for running a new state. This is especially true where the refugees are closely linked with a struggle for self-determination. Many such refugee organisations have set up elaborate educational and training establishments. The Mozambicans ran such an institution in Tanzania before their independence in 1975. The African National Congress of South Africa has set up the Solomon Mahlangu Freedom College in Morogoro, Tanzania; SWAPO of Namibia has education and health centres in Zambia and Angola; and the Eritreans and Tigreans run their own schools and training establishments in the Sudan, under the auspices of humanitarian organisations. Most refugee-run institutions receive substantial support for their programmes from friendly countries, and from a growing number of humanitarian organisations.

Some refugee groups have fared better educationally than others. For example, refugees from Namibia and South Africa are considered as a special category, and the UN and a number of other organisations make regular provision for education and training for them. Elsewhere a growing number of refugee children are offered the opportunity of going to school, but provision is often far from adequate, and many children are growing up with no education. Furthermore, many establishments that are

called 'schools' are not elaborate organisations. They are simply four walls with a teacher, who is not always well educated. They lack many resources, especially books. The teachers need training and up-grading. The problem is even worse at the secondary level, and will grow more desperate for many refugee children, as increasing numbers complete primary school. The difficulty is further increased by each new influx of refugees, as happened recently in southern Sudan.

Non-formal education is even more neglected. There is very little literacy and skill training going on at all, except through the refugee organisations themselves or the humanitarian agencies mentioned above; whatever exists is small-scale, patchy and uncoordinated.

The inevitable conclusion of this brief review of educational services for refugees is that they are inadequate. This is almost certainly, as we have seen, because host governments and international agencies alike do not see education as a priority, though there is evidence that some of them are changing their views. But in fact, except where it is certain that people will be refugees for a very short period, the provision of education is of central importance to their survival. The principal argument for it is that refugees, like the rest of humanity, have a basic right to education, and the international community has a duty to provide them with it. Secondly there are strong pragmatic and economic reasons for making this provision. Only with education can they be expected to adapt themselves to their new surroundings, to integrate with their host society and to become self-reliant. Without it they will inevitably remain outsiders and a permanent drain on the resources of the host community. A third and humanitarian reason is that education is often the only way of restoring the self-respect of refugees, and offering them a chance to control their own affairs, to provide for themselves and to stop being objects of international charity.

For these reasons the rest of this report attempts to look in detail at the educational needs and ambitions of refugees, the existing provision of education and the possibility of using new methods and new networks of educational provision, so as to reach more people more comprehensively with appropriate educational opportunities.

We conclude this section with a brief quotation from a report prepared by the International University Exchange Fund in 1972.

> 'For refugees and nationals alike, neither primary nor secondary education must be viewed as an end in itself. It is neither desirable nor possible that all school leavers continue their education with further studies. Alternatives must be sought for school leavers and drop-outs. The provision of short-term professional, technical, or vocational training courses at the post-primary level increases the chances of refugees obtaining employment, as well as contributing to the manpower needs of their countries of asylum' (Finley, The permanent settlement of African refugees, IUEF, p.16).

PART II - Nine refugee communities

Chapter 4 : Introduction

The three chapters which follow are an attempt to look in some detail at nine refugee communities, in three different parts of the world. Our starting point is education: what education have the members of these communities had before they became refugees, what opportunities for education do they have now, and what would they like to have? We consider education in its broadest sense - basic and advanced, formal and non-formal. To do this we also look at the conditions of life in the communities and at the hopes and ambitions of their members for employment and for mobility, both immediate and long-term.

Looking at these communities in detail has enabled us to draw some general conclusions about the educational needs of refugees and about ways of providing for them. These we present in Part III. Many of the conclusions are inevitably specific to individual case studies. We hope that the proposals for services we put forward in Part IV will make it possible for such individual needs to be met. But where common needs do emerge, we intend these studies to show how experience and resources can be shared internationally to help meet them.

All these case studies, except the first, the Somali study, are based on a similar survey questionnaire adapted to the circumstances of each community. This included questions on living and feeding conditions, employment or self-employment, settlement administration, family circumstances, origins and mobility prospects, as well as educational background, current activities and ambitions. Summaries of the results of these surveys follow, together with brief sketches of the historical background of each community and an outline of the services provided for them by the various agencies concerned with their administration and welfare.

There are certain features of the case studies which it is important to bear in mind from the outset.

1. The first is the immense variety both within and between the communities studied and the dangers of predicting educational requirements - or any other requirements, for that matter - without careful and individual diagnosis of each particular situation.

2. In spite of these differences, it is possible to discern certain common patterns and categories of educational needs (although nowhere is exactly the same as anywhere else, and in very few communities are all the categories present) which can help to limit the necessity to re-discover the wheel with each new refugee crisis.

3. The case studies show the difficulties of providing for these needs in the makeshift and vulnerable communities which refugees are forced to build for themselves; even these difficulties vary in intensity from place to place.

4. It therefore becomes clear that no rigid system of educational provision is going to work: flexibility and improvisation are essential, as are a readiness to borrow, to adapt and to combine educational experience and materials from elsewhere.

5. The needs of the refugees and those of the host communities are

interrelated: to allow facilities for the former to outrun those available to the latter is to create hostility and to endanger the tolerance and hospitality on which all refugees depend; it is important to extend to members of the host society the facilities created to meet the needs of refugees.

6. Finally, and most clearly, there emerges an overwhelming recognition, by refugees in all the communities described in the following chapters, of the importance of education or of re-education for their survival. They see it as a means, perhaps the only means, of improving their conditions of life and their chances of employment. They recognise it as the process through which they can adapt themselves, their skills and their approach to the new life which must replace the shattered past. They want it - and soon - as something they can do to help themselves in a life where boredom, stagnation and dependence are ever present.

Chapter 5 : Refugees in east Africa

At least one in every 100 people in Africa is a refugee. The Horn of Africa has generated by far the most refugees in the past two decades. As a result there is a high density of refugees in the east African region. East Africa has a very complex geo-political history, made more complex by the rush to independence from colonial rule, and the unnatural national boundaries colonialism left behind. Nearly all the countries in the region, such as Djibouti, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Somalia, Sudan, Tanzania, Kenya, Rwanda and Uganda, have been involved either in generating refugees or hosting them - and in a few cases, both. We are concerned in the case studies which follow, however, only with Somalia and the Sudan, which between them accommodate the majority of refugees in east Africa, and with Kenya. The refugees in these countries come mainly from Eritrea, Ethiopia, Sudan, Rwanda and Uganda.

Eritrea was an Italian colony for nearly sixty years, until 1941. It was administered by the British from 1941 to 1952, when it was federated with Ethiopia by the United Nations. Ethiopia annexed it in 1962, abolishing the internal autonomy within the federation which was guaranteed by the United Nations. This resulted in conflict.

Ethiopia itself was never colonised, except for a five-year occupation by the Italians. It has been accused of being a colonial power in its own right and of collaborating with the western powers in the European scramble for Africa. Much of southern and south-western Ethiopia was conquered only towards the end of the last century, bringing different peoples and cultures into an imperial state. The Shoan Amhara monarchs dominated Ethiopia for almost a century, until the overthrow of Haile Selassie I in 1974. The different peoples, having failed to gain self-determination, justice and equality under the military regime which replaced the Emperor, reverted to armed struggle. Among those struggling are the Oromo, the Somalis, and the Tigreans. Many Tigreans and Oromos have since 1978 gone into exile in the Sudan.

The Republic of Somalia attained its independence in 1960. The immediate effect of this was that the Somali peoples in Ethiopia's Ogaden and north-eastern Kenya began to agitate for self-determination and the right to join the republic. Once again the result has been conflict between neighbouring states, and large-scale migration across borders. Refugees started to come into Somalia in large numbers as a result of the Ethiopian-Somali war of 1977. There was a massive influx of refugees from the Ogaden, especially when Ethiopia, with the aid of Russian and Cuban soldiers, was able to reverse the previous Somali military successes. The first wave of refugees, which arrived in 1977-78,was estimated at 3-500,000. The second wave, in 1979-80, brought the figure up to about 1.5 million refugees, 740,000 of whom were in camps. These figures were revised in 1981, to 1.3 million with 700,000 in camps.

The Sudan, which had been a condominium ruled by Britain and Egypt, gained its independence in 1956. It suffered from a long-drawn-out civil war, which started in the mid-1960s and continued until a negotiated settlement was reached in 1971. Large numbers of southern Sudanese refugees who had fled to neighbouring countries to escape the civil war then returned home. The Sudan borders eight African countries, and has itself been host to hundreds of thousands of refugees since 1965. The number of refugees now in the Sudan is over half a million. The first influx from its eastern borders came in 1965, as the Eritrean struggle for independence intensified, and the government of Ethiopia became more repressive. In

1978-9 there came a second wave from the same area, including increasing numbers from the Ethiopian province of Tigray, following the Ethiopian push against guerrilla-held areas, again with massive Soviet military aid. It is estimated that there are more than 420,000 refugees from Eritrea and Ethiopia in the Sudan. Refugees from Uganda, who were concentrated in the southern Sudan, were nearly all repatriated after the fall of Idi Amin. However, in recent months, due to the still unsettled state of affairs in that country, a growing number of Ugandans has again been entering the Sudan, which also hosts refugees from Chad on its western borders.

The 4,000 refugees in Kenya consist of three main groups and several smaller communities. First are the Eritreans and Ethiopians, who entered Kenya following the conflict in Ethiopia and Eritrea which caused the much greater influx into the Sudan. Second most numerous are the Rwandese, many of whom entered Kenya more than ten years ago, to escape the conflict between the two major ethnic groups in Rwanda which continued throughout the 1960s. The third largest group are the Ugandans. As in the Sudan, the number of refugees from Uganda dropped dramatically after the fall of Amin, but has recently grown again as a result of the continuing lawlessness there. Of the other, smaller, groups, only the South Africans and Somalis are of any numerical significance.

SOMALIA*

Background

The vast majority of the refugees in Somalia are from Ethiopia and are themselves Somalis, though a significant minority are Oromos. As already described, they fled from the Ogaden region of Ethiopia as a result of the fighting there between Ethiopia and Somalia in 1977-79, and have mainly settled in four regions of Somalia. At its highest, in 1981, the number of refugees was estimated to be nearly 1,300,000: more than 700,000 registered refugees living in 35 camps, and more than half as many again assumed to be settled with kinsmen or independently. All sources agree that it is impossible to produce accurate figures, and estimates vary wildly. This influx exists in a country whose national population is 3½ million, and which is economically one of the poorest in the world.

There are two outstanding features of the refugee population: 60% are children under the age of 15, and 30% are adult women. It is impossible to discover where all the men are: many are dead, some are fighting and some have gone to seek work in the towns or even further afield. The vast majority of the refugees are nomads by culture and tradition, so settlement in refugee camps, apart from its inherent horror, has created immense problems of social change. These nomadic people have been largely untouched by modern education, and their traditional education, though closely and efficiently related to the skills necessary for their survival in that life-style, is not readily transferable to the changes they are now having to make.

Organisation and administration

The 35 camps are organised by the National Commission for Refugees of the Somali government. This Commission has been responsible for the choice of sites and for decisions on such issues as when a camp is large enough. It has staffed them with Somali camp commanders and other essential administrative officials. It is also responsible for transport, the allocation of supplies and the delegation of emergency relief administration in each camp to specified voluntary and international agencies. There are a very large number of such agencies engaged in health, feeding and other relief work. Without them the plight of the refugees would be much worse. The UNHCR plays a central role amongst them and is largely responsible for raising, administering and allocating donor funds. An important resultant function of the Government's National Commission, therefore, is to co-ordinate the work of the voluntary agencies and to liaise between them and with the international community, on behalf of the refugees. In addition to the National Commission for Refugees, government ministries, such as those of health and education, extend their services to the refugee community.

---

* This report is based on information contained in the following documents:

- Prudence Smith, Report to the IEC on a visit of enquiry to Somalia and Djibouti, June/July 1980
- Bashir Kahiye, Mohamed Farah, Knud Mortensen, K P Wagner, Self-evaluation report of the Institute of In-Service Teacher Training, March 1983
- Mohamed Farah, Case study for IEC Course on the IITT, June 1983

The camps themselves vary enormously in population. They consist of rows or clusters of agaars, the traditional nomad Somali hut made of sticks and mats, together with thornbush huts for communal purposes, such as camp hospitals or feeding and food distribution centres. There are also, now, makeshift tent primary schools. The people in the camps have organised themselves into what are apparently traditional Somali social units, each of ten families under a Toban Tiriye (head of ten families), 'building up into larger units of 50, then 100, then (the largest) 400, and each of these units has a head person'.* This spontaneous pattern of organisation is of vital importance to medical and feeding teams working in the camps and also, presumably, to educational and administrative projects. Self-help by the refugees, organised in traditional ways, is much in evidence and is a vital resource in the provision of services to them.

Self-sufficiency and productive activities

To discuss employment, even self-employment or income-generation, in relation to the vast majority of the refugees in Somalia is largely irrelevant. As already stated, 60% are under the age of 15 and most of the rest, the mothers, are wholly occupied struggling for their own and their children's survival. Their traditional means of livelihood - nomadism and pastoralism - have been lost. For a few, as we shall see, there are jobs in education or in health in the camps; for a few more there are opportunities for jobs outside. But for the vast majority the only possibilities for productive employment are in the process of ensuring and supplementing survival. Basic food production under the harsh agricultural conditions of Somalia; craftwork, to produce clothing, shelter or utensils for living or possibly even a surplus for sale; child-care and development - these are the vital and possibly the only 'jobs' available. All these people, under the circumstances in which they live, must make dramatic, often traumatic changes in their customs and attitudes. And most of them are educationally ill equipped for such changes.

Educational background, ambitions and provision

The biggest single educational need is for primary schools for the majority, who are of primary-school age. From the beginning of the crisis the Somali government has accepted responsibility for providing teachers and primary schools for the refugees, but it soon became clear that it could not do so using only its own national teaching force. A project was therefore set up to crash-train adult refugees who had completed primary school themselves by in-service methods. Emergency primary schools have been created in each camp around these trainee teachers, so that by 1983 there are prefabricated and tented classrooms in all 35 camps and nearly 1,400 trainees teaching in them. Training is by a combination of short face-to-face courses, correspondence courses and regular seminars conducted by a network of teacher training supervisors. It is run by an institution created for the purpose, the Institute of In-Service Teacher Training (IITT). The project has achieved four clear results:

1. 35,000 children have been enrolled in primary schools in the camps. This probably represents about 10% of the school age population.

2. 1,400 young adults, the teachers, have been given the opportunity of

---

* Prudence Smith, Report to IEC on Visit of Enquiry to Somalia and Djibouti, June/July 1980

vocational training linked to that employment, receiving qualifications recognised by the Somali Ministry of Education on a par with the national teacher training qualification.

3. An effective structure of educational administration has been created for the camps, which can serve as the basis for expanded and diversified services.

4. A system has been created which, it is recognised, can be adapted with advantage to meet national as well as refugee educational needs.

In 1981 there was comparatively a very small need for secondary education. What demand there was could be absorbed by existing Somali secondary schools. But the need was growing, and with the establishment of an expanding primary-school system, more and more children will emerge qualified for entry into secondary schools. Somalia's national provision here is strictly limited and, under existing circumstances, it simply cannot meet the growing demand from refugees. The National Refugee Commission intends that any expanded provision of secondary education should be combined with vocational education. So over the next few years, unless the refugees return home in much larger numbers than now seems likely, many more places will be needed in secondary education for primary-school leavers, closely tied to vocational training for realistic productive and employment possibilities.

At present, however, the greatest need, apart from primary education, recognised by the agencies involved, is for an educational programme to improve community and family living conditions. This must operate, predominantly, at the level of basic education. There are self-help literacy classes, conducted by the refugees, in several camps. Projects were also developed in 1981, and presumably since put into initial effect, for extensive community health-care/health education and for family-life education. The former planned to train refugees as primary health care workers in the camps, whose prime responsibility would be health education amongst their fellow refugees. The latter was a proposal to select and train several thousand refugee women as family-life teachers, to run literacy, health, hygiene, dressmaking, tailoring, nutrition and handicraft classes in the camps. It was recognised that both kinds of teachers would have minimum training and very basic personal education levels, so that their ability to carry out their respsonsibilities would depend on continuous in-service training and comprehensive back-up support. These are both ambitious and vital schemes for practical non-formal education. If they are successful, they could make a dramatic difference to the quality of life in the camps. But their large-scale success is likely to depend on an intensive educational support service, similar to that being developed for teachers by IITT, which does not as yet exist.

Conclusion

The educational needs, and presumably the ambitions of refugees in Somalia (though we have not conducted a social survey to ascertain their views), are as immense as is the population and vary from adult functional literacy to primary schools for children. But a significant and apparently successful start has been made amongst the largest number of potential students. This has been done through a combination of traditional school-based provision and distance-teaching approaches to training and support. Such a pattern, with important variations, seems to offer a possible basis for services to meet the other needs, for non-

formal life-related education amongst largely illiterate adults and for vocational training.

ERITREAN AND ETHIOPIAN REFUGEES IN THE SUDAN*

Background

The Sudan has had long and widespread experience of large-scale refugee movements across its borders from its neighbours. This case study concentrates on refugees from Ethiopia and Eritrea who are settled in eastern Sudan. There are also large and growing numbers of refugees from Uganda in southern Sudan. Any education services developed for refugees would have to cater for both groups. The information reported here, however, applies exclusively to the first.

Refugees have been entering the Sudan from Eritrea since the mid-1960s. The vast majority, however, have fled during the last five years from Eritrea and, in increasing numbers, from Tigray in Ethiopia. By the end of 1979 there were, officially, 360,000 Eritrean and 30,000 Ethiopian refugees in the Sudan. The combined total rose to 419,000 in March 1981. The majority were farmers before they left their homes and many of them have very little formal education. A significant minority, however, come from Eritrean towns and have higher levels of education and industrial or trade skills. A few also come from an industrialised agricultural background.

Settlement patterns

At the end of 1980 it was estimated that 30% of the half million refugees in the Sudan were in planned settlements. The government's policy is to expand the present system of settlements and to encourage as many refugees as possible into them, in order to reduce population pressures in the towns and security risks in the border areas. Apart from a few reception or transit camps near the border, there are two kinds of planned settlement.

The first are wage-earning settlements, where the intention is that refugees will be able to earn a living from wage labour in local large-scale government agricultural development schemes, growing sugar or cotton. However, such employment is seasonal, and it is difficult to supplement the meagre wages earned from it during the slack periods. There is also a large settlement just outside one of the main towns, Gedaref, where it is hoped refugees with employment in the town will live, though evidence suggests that this expectation is as yet unjustified.

The second kind are land settlements, which are located in the main grain-producing areas of the region and in which each refugee family is given a small plot of land, to provide for their staple grain needs with, it is hoped, a small surplus for sale. These settlements seem to have met so far with mixed success, depending on the previous skills of the settlers, and the size of the family unit.

The rest of the refugees have settled either in the rural areas near the

---

* This is a summary of a report on a survey commissioned by the IEC at the request of the Commissioner of Refugees of the Government of the Sudan, and carried out in January 1982 by Judy el Bushra. The full report of the survey is to be published separately by the IEC.

borders with their home countries (though most of these have been resettled) or in towns; Port Sudan, Gedaref, Kassala and, further away, Khartoum. The living conditions of these refugees vary from town to town, depending on job availability and their marketable skills. In Port Sudan, for example, there are employment opportunities for labourers, artisans, mechanics and tailors. Skilled Eritrean refugees have in many cases been able to find work. In Kassala there have been opportunities for wage-labour and sharecropping in horticultural schemes. In all towns, most employment for refugees is casual and insecure, and there are very high levels of unemployment. This is particularly true amongst the large number of women, who are less mobile because of the need to care for children, often unaided. Many of these are forced to make a living from prostitution or illegal beer-making or by selling cooked foods and home-manufactured craftwork. The younger and the more skilled refugees, who are highly mobile, are often able to find work, while large numbers of family groups, often headed by women, manage to subsist as they can, usually in insecure and very poor circumstances.

Refugee administration

Refugee affairs are looked after by the Office of the Commissioner of Refugees (COR) set up in 1967 under the Ministry of the Interior. The Commissioner and his small staff, in Khartoum and in the regional offices (in Showak, Juba and Gineifa), are responsible for planning, setting policies, liaising with government bodies and voluntary agencies, fund-raising and dealing with status problems of individual refugees. In the eastern region two Assistant Commissioners, in Gedaref and Kassala, and the General Projects Manager in Showak supervise the activities of the project managers, as well as dealing with the affairs of the spontaneously settled refugees. In each settlement the projects manager heads a team of officials from both the Refugee Administration and ministries such as public health, security and agriculture.

Basic services are provided by the Refugee Administration, in co-operation with other ministries. Financial and technical support is provided by the UNHCR. Other services, mainly in relation to health, are offered by voluntary agencies. Such bodies include local agencies like SUDANAID and the Sudan Council of Churches and international humanitarian organisations. The co-ordination of this work is a major and onerous responsibility of the Refugee Administration. Refugee organisations, such as the Eritrean Relief Association (ERA) and the Relief Society of Tigray (REST) are also active, though their first concern is with people in the areas of their home countries controlled by the liberation fronts.

The services provided

Every settlement has basic services: water supply, health clinic, primary school and a store for food and medical supplies. Most have piped water, though in some water has to be carried from a pump at the edge of the settlement, by a river. The quality of water varies; the quantity is adequate for general needs, but in most settlements would not be sufficient for large-scale agricultural projects. However, in several settlements land and even tractors have been provided for agricultural schemes.

Health services, though variable in quality, are available in all settlements, and are usually run by voluntary agencies. In addition to general clinics there are sometimes mother and child health and tuberculosis clinics. Some agencies are also branching out into

nutritional and community development projects, in attempts to tackle the basic causes of poor health. The main health problems among refugees are respiratory (TB) and gastro-intestinal diseases, malaria and severe malnutrition. The causes, according to various analyses, are, first and foremost, the shortage of food and therefore the lack of variety in the diet, problems which the distribution of food supplements goes only so far in solving. Poor environmental sanitation and overcrowding also contribute to poor health in the settlements.

Primary schooling is mainly provided by the government, using Sudanese teachers funded by UNHCR, and follows the normal Sudanese curriculum, taught in Arabic. In addition the refugee agencies, REST and ERA, run schools of their own in the settlements. These follow a curriculum more closely geared to the cultural and linguistic background of the refugees, but suffer from a lack of materials, equipment and trained teachers. Thus the problems of language and cultural affinity, on the one hand, and of lack of materials and teachers on the other, make it difficult to provide adequate primary education. But at least the majority of primary school-age children seem to go to school. The opportunities for secondary education or vocational training are strictly limited. The few government secondary and intermediate schools are in towns, and there is also a language barrier, so that very few refugees can attend. UNHCR supports three intermediate schools for refugees, and funds some places at government vocational establishments. An experiment has also been started by the International Rescue Committee to offer supervised secondary correspondence courses to a small number of refugees in Gedaref. The initial results, however, are not very promising. The only regular form of non-formal education seems to be health education, offered, often informally, in the clinics. In addition, in both government and REST and ERA schools, literacy classes are sometimes linked to home economics and handicraft activities. REST also runs a vocational training workshop in Gedaref.

Living conditions

In settlements each refugee family is provided with one hut, built initially by the government, consisting of a wooden frame with straw walls and roofs. Repairs and rebuilding, which are necessary after one or two rainy seasons, and the building of additional accommodation for large families, latrines or kitchens are undertaken by the refugees themselves, usually on a communal basis. In our survey of 586 people in five camps, the average household included about eight people, with one or two more absent doing casual agricultural labour. Two or three household members were children under 15. Fewer than one in five of the households had access to agricultural land; not all of these were able to farm it, and those that could produced just over half their annual grain requirements. Even fewer kept animals by which to supplement their diet with meat, and virtually no refugees grew their own vegetables. Nearly a third of those interviewed, mainly men, had been away from the settlements for short periods for work, either on agricultural schemes or in towns. A few people had been away to visit relatives.

Educational background and ambitions

In our survey, which did not cover children under 15, only one in five of those interviewed had completed a year or more of schooling. Several others had, however, attended Bible or Koran schools or adult literacy classes. Only 5% had completed primary school. A markedly higher proportion of men than of women had been to school (33% compared to 13%).

Only four women and twelve men in the main sample of 550 had gone beyond primary school. A quarter of the respondents were literate in their mother tongue (predominantly Tigrinya and Tigre), just over 10% in Arabic and only 3% in English. Only 8% were currently attending any classes, most of them literacy classes.

We asked people what they would like to study if it were possible, and divided the answers between formal schooling, vocational training and non-formal education, categories which here, as elsewhere, were not particularly appropriate to the refugees, and certainly were not seen as mutually exclusive. Slightly more than half wanted to study school subjects, though many included literacy and numeracy, or mechanics, under this heading. Only a handful specified academic subjects. 60% expressed an interest in job-training; tailoring/dressmaking and handicrafts were the most popular subjects for young women, agriculture and mechanics for young men. Among non-formal education subjects sewing, literacy, agriculture and hygiene/health education were named in that order. Again men mainly chose agriculture, women sewing.

Conclusions

Our survey in the eastern Sudan was carried out mainly to identify educational needs and resources among refugees in order to plan the work of an institution we propose to establish there with the support of the office of the Commissioner for Refugees. This institution, the Sudan Extension Unit, is intended to provide educational services, mainly for adults, using a combination of distance-teaching materials and study group techniques. The conclusions of the survey will therefore serve as guidelines for the development of a plan of action for that project.

The most obvious conclusion is that the vast majority of the refugees in the eastern Sudan have had very little or no formal education. Those with more education, and especially those with technical training, stand the best chance of obtaining jobs or scholarships for higher education and therefore of leaving the refugee community.

At present, outside primary school, and therefore for people over 15, there are very few opportunities for any further education at all. Even at primary level supplementary materials and training are needed both for Sudanese teachers, in subjects oriented towards the refugees' own culture, and for untrained refugee teachers. A growing minority of young adults have completed primary school, either at home or in the refugee schools, and now need opportunities to continue their studies at lower secondary level, preferably with a vocational orientation. As UNHCR has discovered, the costs of providing such opportunities by traditional methods are prohibitive and can only be met for very small numbers. The IRC experiment has shown that alternative distance-teaching methods require appropriate materials and very careful supervision.

In particular vocational education, either at this level or for people who have not completed primary education, needs to be tied very carefully to two factors: availability of facilities for practical work, and opportunities to use the skills, once learned, either in jobs or income-generating projects.

Finally, for the largest number of refugees, those with the least formal schooling, various kinds of non-formal education are felt to be needed. These must be related directly to improvements in living conditions. As can be seen from the non-formal education preferences already listed, the

refugees want production- and income-oriented courses and health education. In most cases such courses, like more advanced vocational and academic courses, need to be run in close co-operation with agencies already working in the settlements.

The women, who have had less schooling than the men, showed themselves in our survey to be potentially the most enthusiastic for education. In the settlements they have little chance of finding anything to do outside the home, so that vocational training for them could have an enormous impact on the community as a whole.

REFUGEES IN KENYA*

The background

Kenya has traditionally been a focus for migration, and Nairobi, as a cosmopolitan city, has thus, especially in recent years, attracted various foreign communities. The refugee problem, however, only took on significant dimensions in the mid-1970s with the influx of Ethiopians, and then Ugandans, and a continuing build-up of Rwandese. In 1970 the total number of refugees in Kenya was 500, nearly half of whom were Rwandese; the rest were South Africans and Rhodesians, who have now moved on. 20% of the Rwandese community have been here since that time, and a further 20% have been in Kenya since 1975. By 1976 the refugee population had risen sharply to 4,000, the vast majority of the new arrivals being from Ethiopia. Around 20% of the Ethiopians still in Nairobi today came with this first influx. Each year since 1976 on average 150 more Ethiopians have arrived, though there has been a slight fall-off in the last two years. The Rwandese arrivals have averaged 50 per year and their numbers have recently increased to about 150. The Ugandans who came to Kenya in the mid-1970s were mostly repatriated by 1979, so that by 1980 the total refugee population had fallen to 2,500. In 1981 it rose again to 3,000. By the middle of 1982 the official total was 3,900.

Nearly half the refugees in Kenya, therefore, have arrived there in the last three years, while a quarter have been there for five years or more and as many as 13% for more than ten years.

Settlement patterns and demographic characteristics

Nearly 90% of Kenya's registered refugees are in Nairobi. The various national groups function as essentially separate communities. There is almost no interaction, for example, between the Rwandese who, though more dispersed, live mainly in the western suburbs, and the Ethiopians who

---

* This description is a summary based on two surveys:

- a UNHCR census of refugees in Kenya undertaken in 1981 in order to determine the size of the UNHCR's responsibilities;
- a survey of 51 refugees, representative of the main nationality and age groups in the overall refugee population in Kenya, carried out for IEC by William Tunstall in 1982.

Most of the statistics and general information are derived from the UNHCR survey; the more personal information, about living conditions, education, employment and ambitions, is drawn from the IEC study.

gravitate towards Eastleigh, a suburb not very far away, which has traditionally been composed of mixed migrant communities - Arabs, Somalis and Indians. The Ugandans' conditions are somewhat better than those of other refugees, as they do not have to pay for work permits. They therefore tend to keep a low profile, to be more dispersed, living often with friends or relatives, and not to need support from the refugee authorities. There is a small number of South Africans, many of whom have probably been in East Africa as refugees earlier, and have returned, sometimes with improved qualifications, to seek homes and jobs in Kenya. Of the small Somali community, only 60 were registered in 1982 as refugees. Somalis have in the past preferred not to accept official refugee status in Kenya, and have relied for support on the close-knit community of fellow Somalis already in Kenya.

There is only one noteworthy rural refugee settlement in Kenya, near Marsabit, which was set up in 1976. It consists of 48 Ethiopian and Somali refugees in a small rural settlement just outside the township, with another 22 refugees in the town. Though a high proportion of these refugees were of semi-urban rather than rural origin, the settlement seems to have worked well as regards self-sufficiency and integration into the local society. This settlement is seen by the Kenyan authorities, and by UNHCR, as a model for further small rural settlements elsewhere.

Refugee Population

1970	500	Rwandese, South Africans, Rhodesians
1976	4,000	Ethiopians, Rwandese, South Africans, Rhodesians
1978	6,000	Ethiopians, Ugandans and Rwandese
1980	2,500	Ethiopians and Rwandese (Ugandans repatriated)
1981	3,000	Ethiopians, Ugandans and Rwandese
1982	3,900	Ethiopians, Ugandans and Rwandese

Breakdown for 1981 (Total 3,000)

Ethiopians	1,400	(350 children 700 in 18-30 age group)
Rwandese	1,000	(400 children)
Ugandans	230	(80 children)
Others - (total 350)		
Mozambicans	170	(This group, half of whom are children, have been settled approximately 10 years)
South Africans	100	(35 children)
Remaining	70	(20 children)

About half of the last group are recent arrivals from Somalia who are the first to become registered in significant numbers.

Influx in 1982 (approx: 900)

Ethiopians	130	
Rwandese	170	
Ugandans	420	
Others	80	(about half of these are Somalis)

(The rest is made up of births.)

There are considerable differences between the nationality groups in both age and sex distribution, with the Rwandese and Ugandans being more evenly distributed than the Ethiopians:

Age distribution (in %)

	0-17	18-30	31-40	41+
Ethiopians	24.5	52.4	14.4	8.7
Rwandese	38.7	38.3	13.5	9.5
Ugandans	35.7	40.9	18.3	5.1

Sex distribution (in %)

	M	F
Ethiopians	73.2	26.8
Rwandese	53.7	46.3
Ugandans	59.6	40.4

Refugee administration

The Kenyan Ministry of Home Affairs exercises overall control of the influx, movement and administration of refugees. A reception centre has been in operation in Thika, 20 miles from Nairobi, for the last few years and all refugees seeking asylum must be cleared there by the Kenyan immigration authorities. In practice most of the financial support for refugees in Kenya is provided by the UNHCR.

A counselling service was formerly provided by a central agency, the Joint Refugee Service of Kenya (JRSK), which was the main implementing agency for UNHCR assistance programmes. This was abolished at the end of 1982, however, and its functions have been taken over by the National Christian Council of Kenya, which plans to offer a similar, if remodelled, service. Funds for this are provided by the UNHCR and the All African Christian Conference.

Both the church bodies support individual refugees with scholarships, often in conjunction with UNHCR.

The Kenya Catholic Secretariat has also provided assistance for educational placements, particularly in English for Rwandese.

An example of a refugee self-help project is provided by the Ethiopian self-help school in Eastleigh. It seems to have grown out of the urge for informal basic education amongst the Ethiopian community and the availability of premises and two qualified Ethiopian refugee teachers. When they started, in 1979, they received assistance from the JRSK and from the government Department of Adult Education. Though the project seems to have been successful it was closed down in 1982, apparently on the grounds that adequate local facilities existed and the government did not wish to encourage the promotion of non-Kenyan languages or culture.

Living and working conditions

Our own survey attempted to find out more about how the refugees live and what they hope for in terms of education and employment. It also tried to discover what differences there were, if any, between the various groups. As we have already seen, when the information was collected there was only one formalised refugee settlement in Kenya. Most refugees live in rented accommodation in or around Nairobi, with a tendency for each nationality group to collect in a particular area. The 51 people interviewed in our survey were urban refugees. The table below shows their distribution by origin, sex and age.

Age		under 16	16-30	30+
Ethiopians (24)	Male	-	8	9
	Female	-	-	4
	Total	3	8	13
Ugandans (12)	Male	-	6	3
	Female	-	2	-
	Total	1	8	3
Rwandese (10)	Male	-	5	2
	Female	-	2	-
	Total	1	7	2
South Africans (5)	Male	-	2	2
	Female	-	1	-
	Total	-	3	2

Often the accommodation in which these people live is shared with other refugees. The extent of overcrowding varies according to income though they are not noticeably worse off in this respect than their Kenyan counterparts. New arrivals - especially Ugandans - tend to find temporary accommodation with friends or relatives from their own country, before finding their own rooms or flats. Many receive maintenance allowances from UNHCR, but a surprisingly large number, especially Ethiopians and those who have been in Kenya for several years, are self-sufficient, although not many, in any group, have regular employment. This suggests a high degree of interdependence within the communities and the existence of informal community social support.

Profession and employment

41% of the refugee population is skilled and trained. The Ethiopians have the lowest proportion of professionals (36.8%) compared with the Rwandese (38.4%) and the Ugandans (63.0%). The women have a lower proportion of professionals than the men: among the Ethiopian sample it is 16.7%, among the Rwandese 30% and among the Ugandans 56.9%. The 10 professions for which the most refugees are trained are: mechanics, accountants, teachers, tailors, secretaries, technicians, traders, artists, administrative clerks and agriculturists.

In spite of these high levels of training and the importance of employment for the integration of refugees into the host society, however, only 19% of the refugee population are employed, and the figure for those living in Nairobi, the majority, is only 14%. Again there is considerable variation between national groups and between sexes, with Rwandese men being at the top (30%) and Ethiopian women at the bottom (7%). However, if we deduct the number of students, the unemployment figures are as follows:

	Ethiopian	Rwandese	Ugandan*
Men	27.9%	38.7%	74.5%
Women	72.8%	52.6%	84.3%
Total	55.3%	47.6%	77.9%

* The Ugandan figures reflect their more recent arrival.

Education : background, provision and ambitions

The differences in educational background between national groups and between the sexes have important consequences for the employment and integration of refugees in Kenya. The table below illustrates the differences.

(percentage)

	No formal education	Primary	Secondary	Vocational	Higher
All nationalities					
M	8.4	26.0	27.8	22.3	15.5
F	24.2	33.6	18.2	18.9	5.1
Total	13.3	28.4	24.8	21.2	12.3
Ethiopian					
M	12.7	31.7	26.1	19.8	9.7
F	38.7	31.6	10.1	7.9	1.7
Total	20.7	31.7	22.6	17.2	7.8
Rwandese					
M	3.0	23.3	36.3	20.8	16.6
F	9.8	38.0	22.2	25.9	4.1
Total	6.2	30.3	29.6	23.1	10.8
Ugandan					
M	-	3.1	21.4	17.3	58.2
F	5.9	15.7	33.3	17.6	27.5
Total	2.0	7.4	25.5	17.4	47.7

Source: UNHCR 'Case-load Analysis' Report, 1981

The Ethiopian women have the highest proportion with no formal education. At the other end of the scale, the Ugandans have the highest percentage of people with higher education, largely because of the nature of the problems which led to their exodus.

Another important educational factor is language competence. 17% of the refugees speak neither of Kenya's two main languages, English and Swahili.

Another 16% have no English and are thus not eligible for employment in the modern sector of the economy. Ethiopian women are again the most disadvantaged group. The need for English and Swahili courses for refugees is evident.

Places are usually available in government primary schools for the comparatively small percentage of refugees of primary school age - though in the IEC sample several such children were not at school. It is for secondary-level and secondary-vocational education that the demand seems strongest, and mainly for young adults, between the ages of 16 and 20 (though it must be noted that our sample contained no secondary-school-age children). The kind of education people want varies between age and nationality groups. Among the older adults, there is virtually no demand for education or training except for courses in English and Swahili, because of the obvious handicap of not being able to speak the languages of Kenya; this need is felt by the less well educated, but only by Ethiopians and Rwandese. By contrast the younger Ugandans and Rwandese feel the need for opportunities to continue in formal education though they have already reached higher educational levels than their peers in other national groups. For most of the young adults, however, the purpose of further education is quite clear: to enable them to get jobs.

Thus employment and the ability to be self-supporting are the main incentives for further education. The danger is that even after training, however specialised, refugees find it more difficult to get jobs than their Kenyan counterparts. This leads to frustration and disillusion, as illustrated by two Ethiopians who had been sent by UNHCR on range management courses which they had successfully completed, but who, six months later, had failed to get jobs though all their Kenyan counterparts were employed. Such difficulties increase the demand among the more highly qualified for education overseas in preference to Kenyan placements. It appears from the interviews that none of the national groups expect to return home soon, though the Ugandans see their exile as less long-term than the others. The Ugandans and some of the younger Ethiopians are attracted by the prospect of travel to Europe or the USA for education, employment or both. Most Rwandese and older Ethiopians accept Kenya as the most satisfactory place for long-term exile, and it is in Kenya, therefore, that they seek what educational opportunities they need.

Conclusions

The conclusion of the UNHCR 'Case Load Analysis' report on education and training is clear: opportunities for men are quite good, and therefore 'a priority in education assistance... should be given to the provision of... basic education needs to refugee women...'. It points out that 24% of the women are illiterates or primary school dropouts, 47% do not speak English, and 23% speak neither English nor Swahili. This priority is borne out by the results of the IEC survey, though that also seems to suggest several additional important educational needs which are not being met and which, if met, would improve living conditions for the whole

refugee community. The two surveys together therefore suggest four main requirements:

1. Adult literacy and basic language courses linked where possible to basic skills, using the Kenyan materials and organisations where appropriate but supplementing them where necessary.

2. Vocational and skill training at post-primary level, leading if possible to job opportunities or self-support schemes.

3. Secondary and advanced academic courses for young adults who cannot get UNHCR or other scholarships for entry to formal institutions.

4. Rural extension training, in, for example, agriculture, co-operative organisation and rural commercial management to facilitate government plans for rural and semi-urban settlements for refugees, many of whom do not comes from a rural background.

Given the numbers and special needs involved, there is a need to explore a flexible system of provision linking local resources to refugee organisation and initiatives.

Chapter 6 : Refugees from southern Africa

The vast majority of the refugees in central and southern Africa come from South Africa and Namibia, and are fugitives from apartheid. Since 1918, South Africa has ruled the former German colony of South-West Africa. Originally this was under the mandate of the League of Nations, but when the League was replaced by the United Nations, South Africa at first refused to enter into the UN trusteeship agreement, and later rejected the UN's termination of the mandate and refused to hand the administration of the territory back to the UN itself. Since then, in the face of repeated international judicial condemnation, South Africa has continued to administer South-West Africa, recently renamed Namibia, under its own political and judicial system. Since the Nationalist Party, claiming to represent the interests of the predominant Afrikaaner section of the white population, came to power in 1948 in South Africa, it has imposed the system of apartheid (officially separate development for the different races, but in practice white domination) with increasing rigour. Opposition to this system of discrimination has been crushed by all administrative and legislative means at the government's disposal, and by force. As a result, more and more people have been forced to flee abroad. These refugees include political leaders and activists, many others who have also left for political reasons, and large numbers of ordinary citizens, both young and old, whose opposition to government policy is expressed mainly in their desire for equal access to education, social amenities and employment, and more recently, by a rejection of conscript military service in support of South Africa.

The exodus from South Africa and Namibia has continued for several decades, though it grows in reaction to particular acts of discrimination and violence by the government. These are increasing in both size and frequency as the tide of repression rises. Because opposition is outlawed, it is inevitably divided, with the result that even in exile the refugees identify with different liberation movements, or even with none. Thus the refugees from South Africa include some who support the African National Congress (ANC), the Pan African Congress (PAC) and the Black Consciousness Movement (BCM), as well as other small parties and others who do not support any such organisations. Refugees from Namibia are predominantly supporters of the South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO), though some are followers of smaller parties or break-away groups.

There are significant numbers of South African refugees in three countries, Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland, as well as Zimbabwe and Mozambique. Many have also moved further north, to Zambia, Angola and Tanzania, or, as we have seen in the previous chapter, to Kenya. Refugees from Namibia are mainly based in Angola, Zambia and Botswana.

There are also groups of refugees from independent countries in the region, representing outlawed or minority political opposition groups, who have fled in response to threats to their lives, their personal and political liberty or the welfare of their families. In some cases these include refugees from internal violence or civil war. In this category are refugees from Angola, from Lesotho, from Malawi and from Zimbabwe.

Our first case study in this chapter is of SWAPO refugees in Angola and Zambia. The second covers both rural and urban refugees from South Africa in Swaziland, and the third is of a settlement in Botswana where refugees from many different countries in the region are living.

THE NAMIBIAN EDUCATION AND HEALTH CENTRES IN ZAMBIA AND ANGOLA*

Background

There are currently about 40,000 Namibian refugees living in Angola and more than 2,000 in Zambia, in settlements run by SWAPO with the co-operation of the national governments. They are refugees from the illegal South African regime in Namibia and their numbers have grown as the struggle between the nationalist liberation movement, SWAPO, and the South African forces has intensified, particularly since 1974. The exodus was made easier when Angola achieved its independence, as Angola borders on northern Namibia where the war is at its fiercest, but the early refugees passed through Botswana to Zambia, where the first SWAPO settlement was established in 1974. In recent years there has been a huge influx of schoolchildren and old people fleeing from the increasing repression and fighting, and of young adults determined to escape conscription into the South African militia. Raids on Angolan territory by South Africa mean that the settlements in Angola are continuously facing disruption and insecurity. In the settlements there is a heavy predominance of young children and old people, and many more women than men. Many of the young refugees were forced to leave school because of their political activities and have had no contact with their families since becoming refugees. SWAPO is now their family; the settlement their home. It is in these circumstances that SWAPO has established its Education and Health Centres as the bases for its settlements.

Administration and economic and social organisation

Unlike many refugee communities, including all those covered by the other case studies in this report, the Namibian settlements in Angola and Zambia are administered almost entirely by a political liberation movement, SWAPO. In both countries, SWAPO runs the settlements with the full co-operation of the national governments, which make the necessary security arrangements. SWAPO negotiates for technical and financial support of its settlements and personnel directly with international government and voluntary agencies, referring full details of such negotiations to the national governments, and involving them as appropriate. SWAPO is recognised by the UN and by several other national and international agencies as the sole representative of the Namibian people.

A major aim of all the settlements is self-sufficiency. To this end SWAPO has established an internal administration and organises self-help activities in which all adult members of the settlements participate. Most of these are concerned with agricultural production and building and maintaining the various kinds of accommodation. Refugees also work as teachers, medical staff, clerical, executive and community workers. In each settlement the executive head is the Camp Director, supported by secretarial, logistics and work-supervisory staff. There is also a camp council consisting of members from all sections of its population, such as the Women's Council, the clinic, the labour force, the Elders' Council,

---

* This is a summary of a case study compiled by Cm. John Mbango and Tony Dodds, based on information about SWAPO's settlements in Zambia and Angola and on a survey carried out in August 1982 under the supervision of Cm. Mbango of 100 Namibian Extension Unit students in the Education and Health Centre in Zambia. The pattern of organisation and activity is much the same in settlements in Angola, in so far as the much larger numbers and the lack of security there allow.

the youth and the school. This council sets the rules and regulations for each camp.

The Elders' and the Women's Councils play important roles in the organisation of activities. The Elders' Council serves as an advisory body to the camp authorities and is responsible for the cultural orientation of the youth. The Women's Council organises and mobilises the women in a wide range of economic, political and cultural activities.

Agricultural activity is the top priority. So far as possible the settlements try to provide themselves with the vegetables and maize they require, and in Zambia they raise pigs, goats and poultry. All this production is organised on a communal basis.

Great emphasis is put on the promotion of an understanding and appreciation of Namibian culture, through regular cultural evenings, including dancing, music and folk-tales. At the same time efforts are made to promote the use of English as a lingua franca and as the language SWAPO has chosen to be the national language.

The creation of health facilities has also been seen as important from the beginning. In order to set up and staff enough clinics, opportunities for medical training have been provided to refugees at various levels, both in the camps and through external scholarships. As a result there is now at least one resident Namibian doctor in each camp, with the necessary senior medical and nursing assistants. Special emphasis is placed on mother and child care services and on regular vaccinations against common communicable diseases.

Educational provision

The general standard of education obtained by the refugees before they left home was usually very low, partly because of the South African Bantu education system, and partly because many left before progressing very far through the schools. SWAPO has therefore regarded the provision of education in the settlements as vital since the outset. The resources available for such provision are very limited, but compulsory schooling for all school-age children has been introduced. Primary-school provision is comprehensive and uses an adaptation of Zambian and Tanzanian curricula. Most of the teachers, however, are untrained. At secondary level the lack of teachers and of adequate materials is more acute. In spite of overstretched resources for children's education SWAPO also attempts to provide education for adults, in remedial academic subjects and in basic literacy, as well as in practical skill training groups.

One of SWAPO's main purposes is to provide trained and educated people in preparation for Namibia's independence. For this, a wide range of vocational training is necessary. Over the last few years four approaches have been used to provide it. First, many Namibians with the necessary education have been sent abroad for specific training: as teachers, medical workers, telecommunication specialists, administrators, technicians and so on. Secondly a number of special courses have been organised for groups of Namibians in Zambia and Angola, making use of training centres in those countries. And thirdly several Namibian institutions have been developed in exile, such as the United Nations Institute for Namibia (UNIN) in Lusaka which trains middle-level administrators, and the new Vocational Training Institute in Angola for carpenters, motor mechanics, electricians and fitters. Finally, with the help of various international agencies SWAPO has set up a distance-

teaching institution, the Namibian Extension Unit (NEU), to provide self-study courses for adults in the settlements, using printed courses and audio cassettes in organised study-groups. The first courses, in English and maths, are aimed to improve students' primary educational standards and to prepare them for senior secondary courses. The Unit plans to provide such courses where needed and to develop basic social and vocational courses for neo-literates. At present there are about 600 students enrolled in Zambia and 1,500 in Angola. The rest of this case study is largely based on a survey of 100 NEU students in Zambia which was administered when they first enrolled for the courses, covering the conditions in which they live, their educational and employment background, requirements and ambitions. These students are not representative of the settlement population as a whole, because they have at least four years' primary education. The following paragraphs summarise the results of the survey.

Living and working conditions

Nearly all of the students are beteen 21 and 30 years old (89%); a handful are younger, between 16 and 20(4%) and a few older, between 31 and 40 (7%). Only 2% are over 40. 58% of those interviewed are women, compared to an estimated 70% women in the settlement as a whole. Nearly half of them were born in villages, a third in small towns, and therefore less than a quarter in large towns. Most (75%) have been in the camp for four years or more. Because they were so young when they left Namibia very few of them had jobs before they left. Within the settlement nearly all are involved in agricultural work, and, in addition, more than a third (38%) have jobs such as kindergarten teacher, nurse, librarian, builder, electrician, typist or member of the Elders' Council.

They grow maize and a variety of vegetables such as cabbages, tomatoes, potatoes, onions and beans; nearly all know they can get agricultural advice and assistance in the form of more land, fertiliser and seeds, from the camp authorities. Nearly all the food production is organised communally, though a few (12%) claim to be cultivating individual plots.

A variety of living quarters appears to be available. Most live in solidly built houses and dormitories (67%), while the rest are in tents (33%). Surprisingly, more than half live in single family quarters (58%), or single quarters (11%), while the rest share with other families or others of the same sex. More than half (54%) built their own accommodation, and nearly everyone is personally responsible for its maintenance. When repairs are needed about half think they can do them themselves, though most need help by way of tools, materials and instructions to do so, and a few (30%) need help from a craftsman.

Educational background

Considering that the sample was drawn from students enrolling for the same NEU courses, there is a surprisingly wide variation in their educational standards. Nearly half claim to have had six or seven years of schooling, and another third to have had eight or nine years. Only 10% claim to have had less than six years. Most left school when they left Namibia more than six years ago. Since then, apart from the NEU courses they have now enrolled for, only about 20% have been on other training courses, mainly in Zambia, or in the camps, on nutrition, child-care, nursing or secretarial and administrative skills. In addition to their NEU courses, however, most (83%) claim to be studying privately, through discussion groups (presumably for many this means the NEU groups), by private reading

(21%) or by radio (7%). A surprisingly large number (31%) own radios, and even more (75%) listen regularly to someone else's radio. Most do such studying in their rooms, though a few use classrooms and libraries. Most also borrow books from the camp libraries (82%).

There is a wide variation in language use and competency. Most of the sample (75%) speak Oshiwambo as their first language with no significant group using any other language - though Lozi, Herero, Subiya and English each claim a few first language speakers. Nearly all claim competence in several other languages, especially English, Afrikaans and Herero. Afrikaans (80%), English (47%) and Oshiwambo (18%) are the languages they learned in school, and English is the predominant language for post-school courses.

Employment and educational ambitions

We asked what jobs they might be able to get in the near future and what jobs they would like to do when they return to Namibia. Their employment ambitions are shown in the following table. They are expressed as percentages of the total number interviewed.

	Immediate future	Long-term future
No answer	23	12
Teachers	11	16
Agriculture	11	15
Social worker	9	8
Mechanical engineer	9	9
Nurse/medical assistant	7	13
Doctor	4	5
Tailor/dressmaker	4	6
Carpenter	3	2
Motor mechanic/driver	3	3
Typist/clerk	2	5
Soldier	2	3
Technician	2	3

We also asked what further education they would like. Nearly everyone wanted further education in academic and vocational subjects, as well as in subjects of general or life-improvement interest. Academically the largest number, in fact the majority, are aiming at 'O' level or matriculation, though a high proportion also have dreams of university education. In vocational and general interest subjects, most want

advanced courses. (All respondents could tick as many subjects in each list as they wished. Most ticked several subjects on each list, hence the very high totals recorded.) The table which follows shows what percentage ticked each subject under these headings.

Academic		Vocational/professional		General interest	
English	94	Engineering	36	Health education	55
Maths	69	Technical drawing	35	Maths/calculation	43
History	53	Motor mechanics	35	Home economics	38
Politics	47	Nursing	34	Hygiene	37
Biology	43	Agriculture	34	Nutrition	36
Health science	43	Teaching	32	Child care	34
Economics	41	Bookkeeping	25	Agriculture	34
Geography	36	Business admin.	24	Cooking	28
Chemistry	27	Electricity	24	Co-operative org.	28
Physics	25	Community dev.	23	Vegetable gdng	24
French	23	Law	20	Poultry	19
Sociology	17	Dressmaking/sewing	18	Civics	19
Portuguese	8	Metalwork	17	Literacy	18
		Woodwork	10	Livestock	12
				Committee procedures	9

Conclusions

The Namibian refugees covered by this case study are predominantly people in their twenties who have received a basic primary education. Though they are refugees, living in an isolated settlement with limited educational resources, they are part of a highly organised self-directed community which is quite clear in its purposes: to prepare for return, in the foreseeable future, to an independent Namibia in which the refugees will have a vital development role to play. As there are only very small numbers of Namibians with advanced education and training we would expect their educational ambitions to be high - possibly, for many, unrealistically so. What is remarkable is their desire to pursue vocational training and life-improvement education at the same time as academic studies.

Necessity and policy combine to make everyone eager to improve their English, and maths is also seen by most as of both academic and practical

importance. Social studies - history, politics, economics - are high on the list of academic interests, higher than the natural sciences (except that biology and health sciences outstrip economics). In vocational terms mechanical or engineering subjects seem most popular, closely followed by nursing, agriculture and teaching, while for immediate life-improvement the cluster of subjects related to health education, child care and home economics predominate, with agriculture not far behind. These choices seem to tie in closely with the practical concerns and activities of life in the settlements - home and machine maintenance, agriculture, health and child-care and so on - which suggests that it would be possible to arrange for immediate practical application of training in these subjects.

It should also be possible to link such training at an advanced level for NEU students with basic functional education for the much larger numbers of refugees with little or no formal education, using the NEU students as tutors or group leaders. The system of self-study materials used in study-groups with which NEU is experimenting should also be applicable to vocational and life-improvement subjects, with the added element of guided practical work. At lower educational levels the role of the group leaders, and therefore their training, will be more important. At the more advanced levels, such as Junior Certificate, 'O' levels and 'A' levels, the only possibility within the settlements seems to be to use correspondence courses for individuals or small groups, supported by occasional tutorial assistance from the few qualified people available. The case study suggests that the facilities necessary for such study exist if carefully organised: it is for this purpose that the NEU has come into being. It also clearly indicates that the demand, both for academic and for vocational and practical courses, is clearly defined in the minds of the potential students.

SOUTH AFRICAN REFUGEES IN SWAZILAND*

Background

There are nearly 7,000 registered South African refugees in Swaziland, a country whose own population is only about 600,000. More than 6,000 of these refugees are rural people who moved across the border as a result of the decision in 1976 by the South African government to assign the country where they lived to the so-called Kwa-Zulu homeland. They are almost entirely Swazi-speaking and belong to two chieftaincies, the Mngomezulu and the Matsenjwas, who traditionally owe allegiance through their own chiefs to the Swazi king. The remaining 500 are urban South Africans, many of them from Soweto, who have fled from the repression and political and educational deprivation imposed on blacks in and around the towns of South Africa. In addition, there are probably several hundred more South Africans who are to all intents and purposes refugees but are not registered as such. And there are others who are temporary refugees, who seek education in a free society, but who can, and sometimes do, return to South Africa to visit their homes and relatives.

---

* This is a summary of a case study compiled by Tony Dodds after a visit to Swaziland for the purpose in November 1982. It is based on four sources: a report on Ndzevane Settlement by the Lutheran World Federation administrator, Mr Uffe Hansen; discussions with him and other government, UNHCR and voluntary agency officials; a visit to Ndzevane and discussions there with local officials and refugee leaders; and a survey of 21 urban refugees carried out by University of Swaziland students in January 1983 under the supervision of Professor John Daniel.

Swaziland shares four-fifths of its border with South Africa, so travel to and from both countries is hard to control. Its economy is also heavily dependent on South Africa, with most of its industrial and agricultural products managed and marketed by companies owned jointly by Swazi and South African interests, the latter often in the majority. Swaziland is a monarchy and the late King Sobhuza II, until his death in 1982 the world's longest reigning king, guided his small kingdom into independence and modernity by combining the preservation of tradition with the introduction of capitalist-oriented economic development. He maintained a delicate balance between accommodation with his powerful racist neighbour and the development of links with black Africa through membership of the Organisation of African Unity, Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference and the Preferential Trade Area. At his funeral there was an unusual collection of distinguished guests, including senior representatives of the African Front-line States and South Africa's foreign minister, Pik Botha. In such circumstances the very presence of large numbers of South African refugees creates grave security risks - to themselves and to Swaziland's political and economic stability.

Ndzevane: a settlement for rural refugees

The Matsenjwa and Mngomezulus, now refugees in Swaziland, are such as a result of an ironic twist in the history of South African racialism. The original colonial boundaries of Swaziland were typically fixed in almost total disregard of the Swazi people, almost half of whom were assigned to South Africa or Mozambique. As the South African apartheid policy, and with it the policy of Bantustans, began to emerge, the South African Swazis were arbitrarily assigned to the proposed Kwa-Zulu homeland and were expected to transfer their ethnic and cultural loyalties from Swazi to Zulu, a transfer most of them refused to make. Instead large numbers left their traditional homes and crossed into the kingdom of Swaziland. There the government accepted their request for the right of abode, and negotiated the purchase and assignment to them of a large area of land centred on Ndzevane. Almost all of them are now settled there. The land, however, was neither suitable nor large enough to allow them to continue their traditional pattern of settlement in scattered homesteads and of grazing and cultivation. It was agreed that they should, instead, be settled in larger villages and should develop, with assistance, a form of co-operative plantation agriculture and controlled grazing.

The administration and economic and social organisation

The government of Swaziland has negotiated a tripartite agreement with UNHCR and the Lutheran World Federation (LWF) to run the settlement. The government, through the deputy prime minister's office, provides the land and remains responsible for security, UNHCR provides most of the funds and the LWF administers the settlement and its plans and provides some additional funds. In the long term Ndzevane will become an integral part of the Lubombo District Administration, whose specialist officers for education, health, agriculture and administration are gradually being involved in its supervision. For it is taken for granted that Ndzevane is a permanent settlement and that when the tripartite agreement ends in 1985 it will be self-sufficient and fully integrated.

Ndzevane is an agricultural settlement. Its inhabitants are and will remain dependent on agriculture, with cotton as the main cash crop. This is communally farmed, with each family assigned responsibility for and the profit from plots of two to four hectares, and the settlement retaining responsibility for the activities of clearing, planting and spraying.

Marketing is communal and the plan is that the whole operation will be increasingly managed on a co-operative basis. Individual families at the same time keep the livestock they brought with them in communal grazing areas. Gradually a network of artisan services and trading facilities is developing, and there are plans for some small-scale industries, all to be staffed and run by refugees.

The refugees moved into Swaziland as two groups, each under its traditional leader who already owed allegiance to the Swazi king. Their culture and language are Swazi, and social integration into their host society is therefore comparatively easy. The three major social changes brought about by their move are the development of large-scale villages, communal farming and co-operative organisation. In these they differ from their Swazi neighbours, though Ndzevane is seen as an experiment in the social and economic reorganisation the Swazi government hopes to introduce throughout the country. A clinic and various other social services are now provided at the centre.

Educational services

More than half the population of Ndzevane are of school-going age, and very few of the adult half have any formal education at all. There is a new primary school with a capacity for 600 children, and there are plans for the expansion of satellite schools nearby. But it is estimated that the demand for places is double the number available. The few children who have progressed to secondary level are sent to schools outside the settlement as boarders. But within the next two years the need for a lower secondary school will grow significantly. As yet the plans for such a school have not been accepted. There are, in addition, a variety of self-help educational activities at pre-school level and for adults. The Swazi national literacy organisation, Sebenta, has begun to organise literacy classes, and there are a few informal craft or home economics classes.

Educational needs and distance-teaching possibilities

The greatest educational demand in Ndzevane is for primary schooling and, correctly, that is where the authorities have concentrated their educational effort. Population figures suggest that facilities for primary classes will have to be expanded, and this is probably best achieved by adding classrooms and teachers to existing schools. At post-primary level there is a growing demand which is not yet being met. This falls into two categories: from children just coming out of primary school and from adults and young adults who left primary school some years ago, either in South Africa or Swaziland, but have had no opportunity for secondary-level studies. For the first category the long-term answer must be the opening of a junior secondary school, but if this cannot be done quickly some temporary arrangement is needed. Moreover a junior secondary school in a year or two's time is unlikely to have room for the adults and young adults. A temporary solution for primary leavers and a long-term solution for adults could be found in the creation of supervised study groups within the settlement, using the school buildings, the community centre or even suitable offices outside working hours. Such study groups could be based on available correspondence courses at Junior Certificate level, such as those produced by Emlalatini Development Centre (EDC), which is the correspondence college of the Swazi Ministry of Education. EDC, in line with policies it is now emphasising, might be prepared to establish and supervise a study centre through which the study groups could be serviced. It is also exploring ways of supplementing its academic courses with practical vocational ones. Such a solution has the

advantage that it could be implemented almost immediately, at least on a pilot basis, at almost no capital cost. The very brief and superficial discussions we have had with a small group of local leaders and teachers suggested that they would be prepared to support such an experiment, at least as a temporary solution, on the grounds that anything is better than nothing. They saw no difficulty in finding premises and study-group leaders or supervisors.

Outside formal education it is more difficult to estimate demand. This part of the case study is not based on a social survey designed to obtain sample answers to questions about the need for non-formal education. And our discussion with leaders and teachers on this subject was even shorter and more subjective than that on formal education. The educational profile of the Ndzevane community based on existing surveys, however, indicates that there is a high level of adult illiteracy. The response to Sebenta's first classes bears this out and suggests that there is not only a need but also a demand for literacy classes. The leaders and teachers confirmed this and thought that part-time literacy tutors could be found in the community so long as they were paid. Similarly, they thought that literacy classes, post-literacy classes in vocational skills useful within the community, as well as skill-training in such activities as driving, motor-mechanics, dressmaking and carpentry, would be of benefit. There also seemed to be a need and demand for more agricultural and health education. In view of the importance of the co-operative philosophy to the future of the settlement, there is an obvious case for a carefully planned and intensive system of co-operative education. We can only guess at the possible role of distance teaching in the expansion of such non-formal education facilities. But the need to develop self-study materials in functional, vocational and social skills at post-literacy level was emphasised in general discussions with Sebenta. It might also be possible to produce training, guidance and support packages for literacy tutors and extension agents using distance-teaching techniques. A similar approach might be used to train and support pre-school teachers. The great advantage Ndzevane has over refugee settlements in many countries is that such materials, and the organisation necessary to use them, could form an integral part of a national non-formal education and training support service. Such a system does not at present exist and it would not be economic to develop one for Ndzevane alone. There are signs, however, that the Emlalatini Development Centre, with its triple functions of formal correspondence education, vocational training and agriculture-teacher training, is seeking a new definition of its role and that the provision of distance-teaching services to other educational agencies, such as Sebenta, is being considered. If this were to be implemented there would be a strong case for Ndzevane to become a base for testing and experimenting with the new approach.

This would serve several purposes. It would provide Ndzevane with educational facilities which it needs and which it would be difficult and expensive to provide using traditional methods of education and extension. At the same time, it would provide Emlalatini with an opportunity to try out new kinds of activities which might then be expanded to the rest of the country. Finally, it would provide an important impetus in the process of integrating Ndzevane with Swaziland's general educational services.

Urban refugees

The number of registered urban refugees in Swaziland is quite small: estimates vary from 360 to more than 500. It is also estimated that there are several hundred more who are not registered. Nearly all in both

categories are refugees from South Africa. Recently the South African government has been putting increased pressure on all independent governments in the region to disrupt and discourage their services to political refugees from South Africa. In Swaziland this has resulted in considerable tension between the refugees and the Swazi government, in increased security risks for the refugees themselves, and in a tightening up of government controls on refugees, in an effort to decrease the security risks for Swaziland.

Refugee administration

There are a variety of organisations involved in providing services to urban refugees. The government, mainly through the deputy prime minister's office, is concerned with registration and security and with the co-ordination and control of the other agencies. The UNHCR is the major funding agency, providing support to the government for its services for refugees; it also provides a counselling service, through which it gives advice and administers assistance to individual refugees. International bodies, such as LWF and the World University Service (WUS) provide scholarships for individuals, and two Swazi institutions, the Council of Swaziland Churches (CSC) and Ephesus House,* provide specialist assistance to refugees, including counselling, on accommodation and on education respectively. There are also two co-ordinating committees, the official National Advisory Committee on Refugees, and the unofficial National Co-ordinating Committee of non-government agencies.

Educational provision

Swaziland government policy is to provide educational opportunities for refugees within the existing network of schools and colleges. Ephesus House has a contract from UNHCR to administer the placement of refugee children in primary and secondary schools. This it does for both official and unofficial refugees. Approximately 70 registered urban refugee children are in primary school, though it is claimed by the government that nearly 700 South African children, effectively refugees, are actually in primary schools. At secondary level the number of registered urban refugees is approximately 100. To offset this drain on Swazi resources, UNHCR has built a secondary school at Mpaka, though in practice fewer than 10 refugee children attend Mpaka. In return refugee students are eligible for admission into other secondary schools. At post-secondary level UNHCR, with the government, is establishing a vocational training centre, also at Mpaka, on the same shared basis for refugees and Swazi students. In addition WUS, and to a lesser extent CSC, provide funds for refugees taking vocational courses, such as secretarial or nursing training and also for evening classes or correspondence courses. These, like the primary and secondary courses, are administered by Ephesus House. WUS also provides scholarships for refugees at the University of Swaziland, mainly, though not exclusively, for South Africans. Plans are beginning to be implemented for this programme to be expanded to more than 100

---

* Ephesus House started as a residential secondary school for South African refugees. It then added a correspondence department and was absorbed into the Swazi education service, first as the Swaziland International Education Centre (SIEC), then as the Emlalatini Development Centre. Ephesus House was then detached from SIEC and became an agency solely concerned with the placement and administration of refugees on educational courses in Swaziland.

places, about 10% of the university's total intake, with support from a variety of international agencies.

Most of this provision is within the formal system, for refugee children of school age or for those who graduate from school to college. There is little or no special provision for adults or young adults, whose education and training needs do not easily match the formal system.

The results of a survey: living conditions and education, employment, ambitions

We carried out a survey of out-of-school urban refugees to try to get information about their family and living conditions, and their educational and employment experience, needs and ambitions. The survey was severely hampered by the tension mentioned above: many refugees understandably refused to be interviewed. The sample is therefore very small (21), and the results purely impressionistic. The sample is drawn almost entirely from one age-group, the 21 to 30-year-olds, and all have had a least two years of secondary schooling. A third have had some college or university education. This includes four who are currently students of the University of Swaziland. There are equal numbers of men and women. Most (16) are single and just over half (11) are not living with any members of their family. Most (13) live in rented private accommodation and a quarter live with friends or relatives. Most (17) have to provide their own furniture, and the supply of furniture and equipment is a major problem. The four university students live on campus. Nearly all are South Africans (though five were unwilling to give information about where they came from), but three are from Uganda, and at least 12 are from an urban background. Just over half have arrived in the last three years, the rest between four and ten years ago. Almost all of them live in or near Manzini, the main commercial town, or Mbabane, the capital.

Just over half of them (13) were students at the time of the survey. At least one third are studying privately, through correspondence courses or by private reading and nearly all (18) want to continue with their education. For most (16) this should include academic as well as vocational and life-improvement courses. Their educational ambitions are high: nearly all hope to take university degrees, though a few recognise the need for preliminary qualifications. Similarly, they are interested only in advanced vocational or life-improvement courses. Their interests are not predominantly in technical or scientific courses, either for vocational or general education: they are more interested in social sciences and in business and administration studies. The majority do not have jobs (18), have never had jobs (15) and have not recently applied for any (14). Their employment ambitions tie in closely with their educational aspirations: they want to be teachers, engineers, bankers, dentists, senior accountants or the like. And most (17) are prepared to travel abroad, at least temporarily, to achieve this. Their preference is for African countries (16), compared to eastern Europe (4) or the west (4).

The potential of distance teaching

It is difficult to draw firm conclusions from such a biased sample. It is significant, however, that four of those interviewed are currently taking correspondence courses, and four are studying by private reading. Many of them, and of their fellow refugees, are too old to get places in secondary school, and do not have the secondary-level qualifications which would

give them access to the higher education or training to which they aspire. It is probable that for many correspondence courses are their only hope. This puts them wholly at the mercy of the commercial, predominantly South African, correspondence institutions which cater for such ambitions, often awarding diplomas and certificates which receive no public or international recognition. An information and advisory service organised by Ephesus or UNHCR, covering local and regional institutions offering face-to-face courses and distance-teaching courses, as well as international providers of suitable and publicly recognised correspondence courses, could go a long way to help them pursue their ambitions. Such a service could also help to locate and supervise local support and tutorial resources.

REFUGEES IN BOTSWANA*

Background

The refugees in Botswana come from many different countries and have become refugees for a variety of reasons. The largest number have fled from the civil war in southern Angola. Almost as many are refugees from South African apartheid, divided nearly equally between Namibians who have fled from the illegal occupation of Namibia and actual South Africans. Many of the latter are refugees from the various waves of struggle since 1976 between Soweto students and the South African police. Then comes a group of Zimbabweans, of whom most fled at the time of the liberation war, when they formed by far the largest national group of refugees in Botswana. At one time there were more than 11,000 of them. Those who remain are the few who have decided not to return to Zimbabwe after independence.** Finally there are small groups from various countries who have fled to escape reprisals for political opposition to independent governments. The largest of these (whose numbers doubled in 1982) are the Basotho, but there are also small numbers from Malawi, Mozambique, and even distant Chad.

In the early years most of these groups settled in different towns in Botswana, often close to the border with their own country: the Angolans and Namibians in and around Maun, the Zimbabweans in Selebi-Phikwe and Francistown, and the South Africans, Basotho and others in or near Gaborone. After the Zimbabweans began to return home, the government of Botswana decided to move to Dukwe all refugees who did not have permanent jobs or places at residential educational institutions, or were unable to return for medical reasons.

Settlement and movement

So in April 1982 there were approximately 1,300 registered refugees in Botswana. Of these around 650 lived in Dukwe. Of the rest 118 were studying full-time in Botswana government educational establishments and

---

* This is a summary of a case study compiled in 1982 on the basis of two visits to Dukwe by Tony Dodds and a survey conducted in August/September 1981 by Kingdom Khutsoane, himself a refugee, of 59 refugees at Dukwe numerically representative of the main nationality groups at that time.

** Since this case study was compiled renewed violence in Zimbabwe has led to a new exodus to Dukwe of Zimbabwean refugees.

perhaps as many as 50 were medically unfit. Nearly 500 were self-sufficient and largely integrated into the Batswana community, scattered among the population centres of the country. It is difficult to obtain a detailed profile of the refugees not living in Dukwe, but in Dukwe 85% of the population were between the ages of 16 and 30; 80% were adult men, 15% adult women, 5% children and up to 45% were from an urban background.

The nationality breakdown in 1981 was as follows:

	Jan.	Nov.
Angolans	318	278
South Africans	125	123
Namibians	101	78
Zimbabweans	90	98
Basotho	27	48
Malawians	1	2
Chadians	1	1
Mozambicans	3	-
TOTAL	666	628

These figures are probably broadly representative of the total refugee community.

On average about 15 people leave Dukwe each month, many in transit to African National Congress (ANC) or South West Africa People's Organisation (SWAPO) organisations in Zambia, and 35 new refugees arrive. Thus a steady increase in numbers is predicted, though this prediction was upset in 1981 by the resettlement in the USA of 70 refugees, with another 100 likely to go in the succeeding months. 65 refugees left Botswana on scholarships abroad in 1981, compared with 75 in 1980. How many of these will return to Botswana as refugees it is impossible to predict, but the option to do so is open for most of them. The shorter their course overseas, the more likely they are to return.

Refugee administration and services

There are several agencies working with refugees in Botswana. The government, through the office of the president, has overall responsibility both for their recognition as refugees and for their security and welfare. A non-government agency, the Botswana Council for Refugees, is the main organiser of welfare services, often on behalf of the government; in particular it provides a social counselling service in Dukwe and Gaborone and administers allowances to refugees who are not in Dukwe and are not self-supporting. The main non-Botswana agencies are the UNHCR which provides a significant proportion of the finance for all refugee services and is internationally responsible for the protection of refugees' legal rights and status, and the LWF, which is in charge of the operation of the Dukwe Settlement under the terms of a tripartite agreement with the government and UNHCR. The Quakers, through the Friends Centre, also provide social services and some accommodation for refugees in Gaborone. The Mennonite Central Committee, which was largely responsible for the establishment of the Educational Resource Centre (see below), provides some scholarship assistance, as do a variety of other

governments, private charities, the World University Service and the Commonwealth Secretariat. The Botswana Ministry of Education's Department of Non-Formal Education (DNFE) has recently become quite heavily involved with education in Dukwe, reviving the connection established in 1978 between the Educational Resource Centre and the Botswana Extension College, as the DNFE was then called. It therefore appears to be government policy to ensure that adequate welfare services are provided for refugees, wherever they come from, to take an active interest in providing some of these services, but to encourage outside agencies to provide and pay for as many of them as possible. It is also government policy to settle refugees in a separate and somewhat isolated community well away from Botswana's major urban centres.

The Dukwe settlement: administration and educational services

Dukwe is hundreds of kilometres away from Gaborone, the capital, and far from any other major town. It consists of little more than the refugee settlement - though for some years there have been plans to create a 'new town' there. There are now about 250 small concrete and brick houses for the refugees which recently replaced their tents and rondavels, and a central ground for administrative buildings: school, clinic, workshop, offices and officials' houses. The settlement is administered jointly by the LWF and the Botswana government, the latter responsible for law and order, the former for almost everything else. The LWF employs mainly Batswana staff, as well as qualified refugees, to run the agricultural, social, medical, educational and mechanical services, and there is a Refugee Council with representatives of all groups which serves as a complaints committee. Social and economic activities are conducted under LWF guidance: tailoring, baking, carpentry and many individual and group agricultural projects. There is a settlement primary school, run by the local district council, in which fewer than 5% of children are refugees, and the economic and social projects generally include a training component. The main educational effort, however, is the Educational Resource Centre (ERC), which provides secondary-level opportunities. It started in Gaborone where it experimented with correspondence courses from the National Extension College (NEC) (Britain) and BEC/DNFE (Botswana). When it moved to Dukwe this experiment continued, but a system of daily face-to-face tuition by more highly educated but unqualified refugee tutors was added. Most of the courses it offers are the traditional academic subjects leading to GCE 'O' level exams - and because of the mobility of the students the results are not very good.

Living and working conditions and community organisation

We carried out a survey of 59 refugees, approximately 10% of the population of Dukwe. The majority (85%) were between the ages of 16 and 30, most (64%) were single and most (70%) have lived in Dukwe for more than a year. There were important differences between the largest group, the Angolans, and the Namibians and South Africans: more of the former were older (21% compared to 4%) and many more of them were married and in exile with their families. They therefore lived and fed as families, rather than communally, as did most of the South Africans and Namibians. The Namibians and South Africans all came from towns, and most of the Angolans were from rural or small town backgrounds. The Angolans, mainly because they were older, were slightly more likely to have had jobs in their own countries and to have jobs or to be earning money currently than members of the other groups. Many more of the Namibians and South Africans had secondary or some higher education than of the Angolans, most of whom had only primary education, and many not even that.

When the survey was conducted most of the refugees still lived in tents or rondavels and were unhappy about housing conditions. This has largely changed as they have since moved into houses. Food was still largely provided by the camp authorities, though the plan is for the residents to become increasingly self-sufficient. Already nearly half supplemented their food by growing vegetables and almost everyone recognised that they could easily obtain land, seeds, fertilisers and advice about food production from the camp authorities. Most South Africans and Namibians grew food in communal plots; most of the Angolans who did so had individual gardens.

There were also significant differences in community organisations. Those from countries where a struggle continued (South Africa, Namibia and even Lesotho) were organised in political groups (in the case of the South Africans in several, opposed, political groups) and lived, worked and played in those groups. Such political affiliations were less strong among the Angolans or the remaining Zimbabweans. Representation on the camp committee was easier and more clearly recognised among the former groups than the latter.

Educational and employment ambitions

Most of those interviewed (78%) were quite willing to embark on additional projects to earn money, though there was scepticism about the authorities' ability to provide the necessary facilities. When asked about long-term employment ambitions nearly as many expressed an interest in craft or artisan vocations (agriculture, baking, tailoring, motor mechanics etc.) as in white-collar or professional jobs. The Namibians showed a marked preference for the latter, and the Angolans for crafts or skills offering self-employment prospects.

The survey tried to find out what kind of further education the respondents hoped for: academic, vocational or life-improvement/general interest. Interviewees saw these categories as complementary rather than contradictory. Most (64%), especially those attending formal academic classes at the time of the survey, showed great enthusiasm for academic subjects. Their answers suggest that most respondents currently taking academic courses wanted to complete these courses and then go on to professional or vocational courses. (Generally entry to technical schools in southern Africa requires GCE 'O' level or its equivalent.) The survey shows a general inclination towards practical vocational courses (91%), which would make possible immediate employment. The few who did not want vocational courses had mostly already completed 'O' levels or matriculation and wanted to go to university. A high proportion of respondents (76%) said they wanted life-improvement or general interest courses, which would quickly give them the expertise needed for immediate projects in the settlement. Those who did not were possibly sceptical about the ability of the educational authorities to provide training manuals which would enable them to improve their living conditions. After each of these questions respondents who replied affirmatively were asked to say what courses they would like to follow and at what level.

Only the Angolans needed primary-level education because of their educational background. But there was a substantial minority demand for such opportunities, spread fairly evenly between languages, social sciences and maths or natural sciences. The greatest demand for academic education was at GCE 'O' level, which is where the ERC's efforts are mainly concentrated. This is probably because 'O' levels are necessary both for vocational training and for more advanced academic study. The

four most popular subjects were English, maths, geography and history, followed closely by physics, chemistry and biology. Maths and science as a group of subjects are by far the most popular. Another important minority, mainly among the Namibians and South Africans, want to take GCE 'A' level courses. Amongst the vocational and professional subjects, tailoring (exclusively among the Angolans), nursing and motor mechanics are most in demand, followed by teaching and business administration. Of these tailoring was required at introductory level, the rest mainly at advanced level. Health education and agriculture were the most popular general interest subjects. Perhaps the most noticeable feature of these subject choices, however, is their variety and the indication they give of how wide a range of courses would be needed to satisfy everyone's needs. At the same time they show a very marked preference for practical courses, leading to improved employment and earning prospects or to immediate improvements in living conditions. (See tables below)

Subject ambitions of refugees in the Dukwe settlement

Subject	Primary school	'O' level/ SC	HSC/'A' level	University degree	Total
English	6	30	1	1	38
French	0	1	0	0	1
Portuguese	5	5	0	0	10
Geography	6	24	2	1	33
History	6	20	2	0	28
Economics	1	6	1	0	8
Politics	1	0	1	0	2
Sociology	0	3	2	0	5
Maths	6	27	1	1	35
Integrated Science	0	1	0	0	1
Chemistry	2	18	1	1	22
Physics	1	17	1	1	20
Biology	3	17	0	1	21
Health Sciences	4	5	0	0	9
Commerce	0	8	0	0	8
Accountancy	0	5	1	0	6

Professional and practical subject ambitions

Subject	Introductory	Intermediate	Advanced	Total
Woodwork	1	0	2	3
Metalwork	0	0	1	1
Motor mechanics	1	1	7	9
Electricity	0	0	3	3
Engineering	0	0	3	3
Dressmaking/ tailoring	7	2	1	10
Bakery/ confectionery	1	1	0	2
Laboratory assistant	1	0	1	2
Nursing	2	2	5	9
Teaching	1	1	4	6
Law	0	0	2	2
Bookkeeping	0	0	1	1
Business administration	0	0	5	5
Agriculture	1	0	1	2
Knitting	1	0	0	1
Home economics	0	0	3	3
Cooking	2	0	1	3
Nutrition	1	0	0	1
Child-care	2	0	0	2
Health education	0	3	9	12
Agriculture	4	2	3	9
Vegetable gardening	1	3	2	6
Poultry keeping	0	0	2	2
Driving	1	0	0	1
Co-operative organisation	0	1	1	2
Maths/calculations	0	2	1	3
Literacy	2	0	1	3
Photography	0	0	1	1
Islamic religion	0	0	1	1

Conclusions

The most striking fact to emerge from the survey is the clear distinction between the Angolan refugees and the Namibians and South Africans. The former, with much less formal education, mainly in family groups, generally older, often from small towns or rural areas, were more likely to be employed or self-employed in craft or artisan occupations. Their political affiliations and oganisation were not very distinct. The latter, by contrast, were younger, from an urban background and usually had more formal education: in fact, they often became refugees while still in secondary or post-secondary education; they were more politically conscious and organised, were single and were more concerned with furthering their education than with self-employment. Fluency in English

and Setswana, the two most important languages in Botswana for education and employment, was common among the Namibians and South Africans but rare among the Angolans.

All these factors affect educational requirements. Among all groups the answers on employment and educational ambitions reveal a strong interest in technical and vocational training and in practical education. Facilities for such training at present do not exist for large numbers. But there is a demand for such training at a level which will qualify people for immediate employment, in Botswana or elsewhere. It is not just skill training, but skill training for recognised trade tests, which is wanted. Many, especially those with some secondary education, recognise that entry to skilled or professional jobs or to most vocational training requires academic qualifications up to 'O' level or the equivalent. Hence there is a demand for secondary academic courses, especially in maths and the natural sciences.

At the same time the need for general education to help improve living conditions is widely recognised, and there is scope for practical education relevant to housing and furniture repairs or improvement, to improved health and to agricultural production. The eagerness for academic, vocational and general education suggests that a curriculum offering a wide choice of courses in all three categories would be popular. The teachers and teaching materials do not at present exist to provide such a curriculum using the existing system, though there are a wide range of practical training opportunities, linked to projects, for small numbers. What is needed is a flexible system offering a range of practical and vocational skills, as well as academic courses, for much larger numbers. Such a system needs to be flexible in its timing (training during the day and in the evenings is needed) and as regards level.

The existing Educational Resource Centre, if it is to offer such training, must undergo radical change both in image and coverage. At the time of the study the number of refugees attending it was small compared to the total population. This was partly because it does not cater for a broad range of practical subjects and partly because it did not then offer English language courses for the Angolans; both activities should be included in its programme. In order to link its training to the tremendous willingness to embark on extra, income-earning or food-producing projects, ERC must develop connections with the agricultural, community development, mechanical and medical departments. Such changes would allow it to cater for the educational needs of much larger numbers and to provide motivation for education through direct links with the skills required for employment. The introduction of professional, vocational and practical courses would provide a psychological impetus to refugees by helping them to become independent and self-reliant, as well as equipping them to integrate more easily with their host society. The pattern of distance-teaching materials, studied individually or in groups with tutorial and practical advice, has already been planned. It offers the basis for further development in other subjects.

Chapter 7 : Central American refugees*

On 15 May 1982, UNHCR published the following statistics for refugees in Central America, Panama and Mexico:

Country	total number of refugees
Belize	2,000
Costa Rica	15,000
Cuba	2,000
Dominican Republic	5,000
Guatemala	50,000/100,000
Honduras	29,000
Mexico	160,000
Nicaragua	22,500
Panama	1,500

These figures do not include those for the so-called 'internal refugees', that is those who leave their homes without actually leaving the country.

Most studies of the international flow of migrants stress its basically economic nature and emphasise economic causes of the gigantic phenomenon which is one of the characteristics of Central American society today. As it is so obvious and distinctive a phenomenon, we do not need to go into detailed explanation to point out that we are up against a complex problem, involving legal, economic, ethical, diplomatic, political and social problems. These aspects make it difficult and misleading to distinguish the political and economic causes of the refugee phenomenon.

The immediate reason, however, for many thousands of men, women and children daily leaving their homes, their scant possessions and their subsistence level of existence, is the brutality, human degradation and savagery which is the fate of the victims of violence in Central America. This is particularly true as the violent struggles in El Salvador, Guatemala and Honduras intensify.

Three years ago, the refugees were generally individual members of the intelligentsia or the Latin American academic world. Consequently, state policies and international organisations met this problem comparatively easily and efficiently by legislation and were able socially and economically to absorb these small groups of refugees, mainly from South America. Today, the situation in El Salvador, in Guatemala and similar developments in Honduras are transforming the refugee situaton into a vast phenomenon involving thousands and thousands of families from the most deprived sectors: peasants, craftsmen, labourers, as well as, to a much smaller extent, intellectuals.

---

* All three case studies in this chapter, as well as the introductory note, are based on surveys commissioned by the IEC and carried out at the beginning of 1983 by members of the World University Service (WUS) - Servicio Universitario Mundial (SUM) - Costa Rica under the direction of its Chairman, Professor Victor Mourgiart. IEC plans to publish the study in full at a later date.

Governments and international organisations alike are completely lacking in policies and institutions to cope with the new refugee problem. Most plans and programmes are emergency measures and in many instances they reach hardly 5% of those concerned. A dramatic example is provided by the emergency refugee camps in the south-east of Mexico, which, being set up only a few miles from the frontier, are subject to incursions involving massacres by the Guatemalan army.

These refugees, poor peasants, with high levels of illiteracy, health problems, and child malnutrition, and including a high proportion of children and women, are those most in need of humanitarian aid. While a scientist might be able to cite economic reasons for this type of migration, these must always be seen in their overall political context.

The thousands of refugees who have escaped into south-east Mexico represent a small proportion of the estimated 1,200,000 'internal refugees' in Guatemala. These movements result from the systematic extermination of villages suspected of collaboration with the guerrillas by the military and paramilitary forces and the forced regrouping of survivors into strategic villages and self-defence militia. As a result tens of thousands of fugitives move into the mountains and jungle: many die, many are captured by patrols and are labelled as either guerrillas or victims of the guerrillas, and many more form the exodus to Mexico.

In both Costa Rica and Mexico the governments have responded to this huge influx of refugees by establishing special, high-level, government committees to control, administer and co-ordinate all actions and activities concerned with refugees. These committees work closely with the UNHCR, other international relief agencies and with a variety of local non-government humanitarian organisations to administer the affairs of the refugees. In both countries there are also solidarity organisations representing the refugees themselves and involved in the administration and provision of services for them.

REFUGEES IN MEXICO CITY

Background

There is no exact calculation of the number of refugees in Mexico, mainly because so many are there illegally. Approximate calculations by UNHCR estimate 180,000 Central Americans mostly in three areas of concentration:

- the area of Lower California, where tens of thousands, mostly without papers, are using Mexico as a transit route to the United States or Canada; this group has not been included in this study as they are not considered a feasible population for an educational programme.

- the south-eastern part of Mexico (the State of Chiapas) which is the subject of our second case study.

- Mexico City.

Mexico City is the capital city and an enormous urban and administrative centre, conditions which encourage the settlement of refugees, largely without papers, who when convenient pass themselves off as Mexicans. Numerically, the Salvadoreans come first (approximately 10,000), followed by the Guatemalans (between 5,000 and 6,000) and finally by the Hondurans who, although fewer in numbers, have started to arrive.

Refugee administration and the provision of services

The Mexican Committee for Aid to Refugees (Comision Mexicana de Ayuda a los Refugiados - CMAR) was set up by presidential decree in 1980. It includes the government secretaries of the Interior, Employment, Social Security and Foreign Affairs, and has a well staffed executive. UNHCR provides financial resources, while the ministries make technical and material provision. The committee has the power to make and apply both legal and humanitarian policy for refugees and is responsible for co-ordinating the work of non-government agencies. It is currently concerned with the relocation of refugees, scholarship programmes, medical aid and the regularisation of migration on the southern frontier.

The non-government agencies with which it is co-operating include: the Friends Service Committee (Comite de Servicio de los Amigos - CSA), which is concerned with emergency relief and with training and guidance for self-managed productive schemes for refugees and self-help groups; a variety of church agencies, both national and diocesan, concerned with emergency relief, social and legal counselling, health services and the development of self-help productive schemes; and various refugee solidarity organisations.

General characteristics and living conditions

In general terms, the refugees in Mexico City come from urban areas, and most are young male adults, hoping to find in this large city opportunities for study, training and work. However, their illegal status and lack of means limit access to study or training programmes. At the same time, the possibilities for work, which until July 1982 existed, at least in the building and service sectors, have now disappeared, to all intents and purposes, because of Mexico's economic crisis. The result is that refugees in Mexico City are increasingly isolated.

The interviews in our survey of 162 refugees bear this out. 72% were men and 28% women. 89% were Salvadoreans and 11% Guatemalans. 2.5% were under 15, 20% between 16 and 20, 68% between 21 and 30, and just under 10% between 31 and 50. They were thus predominantly young Salvadorean men from urban backgrounds.

Distribution of refugees in Mexico City by age, January 1983

	Number	%
15 years or less	4	2.5
16 to 20 years	32	19.7
21 to 30 years	110	67.9
31 to 40 years	10	6.2
41 to 50 years	4	2.5
51 to 60 years	2	1.2
Total	162	100

Fewer than 10% said they had work and, though many hide the fact that they are working because it is illegal, those that do have no security of employment or legal protection as regards wages and insurance. Most claim

to have applied for jobs recently and more than half had jobs before they left home (many of the rest were students). But their expectations of work in Mexico City are very low, as regards both the ability to get it at all and the kind of employment they might obtain. Most (87%) have no other source of income apart from relief hand-outs; very few have been able to join productive schemes (8%) and less than 25% see the prospect of developing any scheme which might provide them with income. Fewer than 10% think it likely that they can obtain land or facilities to engage in agriculture.

While there is no single area in Mexico City where the refugees are concentrated, a large majority are in Netzahualcoyotl (a city on the outskirts with 3,000,000 inhabitants), where they find accommodation but no work. Just under half of those interviewed were single. Slightly more than half emigrated with relatives or joined them in Mexico. The average family group living together has four members. Nearly all live in private rented accommodation, mainly in rooms, usually in a fairly bad state of repair. Just over half (52%) said they bought their food, while nearly 40% receive food as a gift, especially from the Friends Service Committee. The vast majority either prepare their food personally or in the group they live with. There is virtually no communal, non-family, living.

Educational background

Many of the refugees in Mexico City are young adults who left home before they completed their education. Very few (4%) have any professional or technical qualifications. The largest single group are people who completed secondary school (42%), followed by 22% who started but did not complete secondary school, 6% who completed primary school and 11% who did not reply and therefore probably had little or no schooling (see table below). Most of those interviewed stopped studying between one and five years before and only 12% were taking any kind of course when they were interviewed. Of these a few were at university or secondary school, and the majority on technical or vocational training courses. Only 25% have ever taken courses by non-traditional methods - i.e. discussion groups, correspondence courses, radio or television.

Distribution of refugees in Mexico City by level of schooling, January 1983

	Number	%
Primary completed	10	6.2
Secondary not completed	24	14.8
Secondary completed	68	42.0
University not completed	36	22.2
University or technical qualification	6	3.7
No reply	18	11.1
Total	162	100

Education and employment ambitions

The long-term employment ambitions of those interviewed were much higher

than their immediate expectations, and their educational aspirations corresponded to their view of a brighter future. Nearly 50% looked forward to employment in professional or technical jobs or as craftsmen or operatives (see table below).

Distribution of refugees in Mexico City, by employment they would like to obtain, January 1983

	Number	%
Professional, technical	30	18.5
Craftsman, operative	38	23.5
Office employee, similar	8	5.0
Tradesman, salesman	2	1.2
Workman, labourer	22	13.6
Transport	2	1.2
Services	12	7.4
Artist	2	1.2
Refugee aid programme	2	1.2
Any	22	13.6
Do not know, no reply	22	13.6
Total	162	100

The vast majority expressed a wish to improve their academic levels of education (81.5%), and only slightly fewer wanted technical education (75.5%). The range of choices is illustrated in the tables which follow.

Distribution of refugees in Mexico City by type of academic studies it is hoped to pursue, January 1983

	Number	%
Engineering, architecture	22	13.6
English, French	60	37.1
Sociology	10	6.2
Economics, business management	14	8.6
Politics	14	8.6
Education	8	4.9
History	6	3.7
Law	6	3.7
Mathematics	4	2.5
Physics	4	2.5
Botany, biology	6	3.7
Medicine (nutrition)	2	1.2
Art (theatre)	2	1.2
Agronomy	4	2.5
Total	162	100

Distribution of refugees in Mexico City by type of technical studies it is hoped to pursue, January 1983

	Number	%
Technical drawing	26	16.3
Metallurgy	4	2.5
Carpentry	8	5.0
Mechanics	24	15.1
Electricity	22	13.7
Nursing auxiliary	24	15.1
Cookery	10	6.2
Nutrition	2	1.2
Agriculture	36	22.5
Bookkeeping	2	1.2
Refrigeration	2	1.2
Total	160	100

Conclusion

The refugees in Mexico City are predominantly at the right age and have the right educational background for professional or technical vocational training. And they want the opportunity to improve their educational qualifications in this way. Moreover their location and the circumstances in which they live make it feasible to provide them with such opportunities. The major constraint is that, whatever qualifications and training they receive, their prospects of appropriate employment are bleak. The major challenge facing any educational scheme, therefore, is to build on their obvious realism about job prospects and to attempt to exploit, through training and support, whatever opportunities there are for self-help, self-managed productive schemes of a technical, artisan or craft nature.

REFUGEES IN SOUTH-EASTERN MEXICO

Background

We have already described the origin and the cause of the movement of tens of thousands of refugees from Guatemala into south-east Mexico. Their main characteristics are that they are peasant families emigrating in groups and coming primarily from densely populated districts of the high plateau of northern Guatelama, where 57% of the total Guatemalan population (i.e. 3,773,400 inhabitants) live, and that the majority (80 to 90%) belong to the main Indian groups of the country.

Their numbers in the south of Mexico have grown rapidly since 1980, but this growth has been particularly marked since May-June 1982. In July their numbers were estimated at 22,000, in August they had increased to 30,000 and in January 1983 most estimates showed a figure close to 100,000 refugees on the southern frontier, almost all peasants. Of these, only 28,000 publicly admit to being refugees, either through fear of the reprisals their families in Guatemala may suffer, or because of the ill-defined Mexican policies on refugee status.

There are three main areas on the Chiapas border which refugees are entering from Guatemala. Soconusco is an area traditionally dependent on Guatemala and with a high regular influx of Guatemalans for casual labour on coffee plantations. It is therefore difficult to identify how many refugees there are now. There are undoubtedly several thousand, but most have been absorbed into the local economy. The second area is Motozintla and La Trinitaria. The refugees who have settled in Motozintla (more than a thousand) are better off because, thanks to the work of the sisters of the Misioneras de Maria order and to economic aid from the Diocese of Tapachula and the Mexican Committees of Solidarity with the people of Guatemala, they are now integrated into some productive or service activity (cultivation of rented lands, small carpentry, radio repair, and weaving workshops).

The large refugee camps are situated in the La Trinitaria region; the oldest and best organised are those which have received systematic aid from refugee organisations and they are also those which have suffered most incursions by the Guatemalan army.

The refugees here have received support from both farmers and small landowners, for there are links of ethnic origin, kinship and friendship. However, their situation is less favourable than in the areas described earlier, for the following reasons: their numbers are considerably greater; there is a relative shortage of water and wood; the peasants who welcome them themselves live at subsistence level; and the refugee aid bodies have neither sufficient staff nor adequate organisation to deal with the problems presenting themselves.

The third area is the Lacandona jungle. Following the Guatemalan army's extermination tactics, starting in October 1982, there has been a mass migration into this area. Most of this huge influx comprises people who were already refugees in their own country and were forced to survive in the jungle before emigrating.

Their appalling health conditions, together with the isolation of the area and the lack of medical services, have brought about a high mortality rate.

The Mexicans living there have received them well, for as there is sufficient land, water and wood, their presence makes it possible to use Guatemalan labour, which has led to a growth in economic activity; there has been an inflow of economic resources, both for emergency aid and for development of the infra-structure of the area; finally, their presence has meant a source of income for people in the locality who have been taken on to help with social work.

Nevertheless, as it is an isolated jungle area, outside Mexican military control, it lends itself to major incursions by the Guatemalan army. All these factors mean that the refugees in this area live under the worst possible conditions.

The pattern of government, UNHCR and voluntary agency administration of services to refugees in the south-east is the same as that described for Mexico City.

Settlement patterns, general characteristics and living conditions

UNHCR, using its own activity as a yardstick for classification, defines the following types of settlement:

'The first is the temporary aid camp, lacking any relevant productive activity which might allow the refugees to help themselves. Then there is the spontaneous refugee settlement, which receives no aid and which they choose themselves. Some of these receive material aid from UNHCR. There is also the organised and planned rural settlement, which is a settlement planned from the start for a specific group of refugees, who are transferred to the site when all the planning stages are complete; in these cases UNHCR aims for the communities to be self-sufficient.

Another instance is that of semi-urbanised settlements; in these the refugees live in accommodation blocks where basic services are provided, but work in urban areas or in non-agricultural activities.'

All refugees in this region are from Guatemala and have arrived between 1982 and 1983. They have fled mainly in family groups. More than half the population (54%) is aged 15 or under, and only slightly more than half are men. 30% are between 21 and 50, 10% between 16 and 20 and 5.5% over 50 (see table table below). In the sample interviewed there was a heavy preponderance of men (83%), mainly because many of the women did not speak Spanish, and more adults than children. All those interviewed were living in family groups. They all lived in shacks, shared on average by eight people, and built by the refugees themselves of sticks and palm leaves. This kind of accommodation is inadequate for the climate and deteriorates rapidly. There is no furniture of any kind. Most food is provided by the camps. Though they are farmers by origin, none had access to land to grow food. None were linked to any income-earning scheme, and at the time of the survey none had a job.

Distribution of refugees surveyed in camps in state of Chiapas, Mexico, by age, January 1983

	%
15 years or less	-
16 to 20 years	-
21 to 30 years	5.5
31 to 40 years	33.4
41 to 50 years	44.5
51 to 60 years	5.5
Over 60 years	11.1
Total	100

Employment and education background and ambitions

The vast majority of the men were peasant farmers at home (87%). The rest were craftsmen - tailors, carpenters, barbers - or health workers. Among the women the most frequent work mentioned was craftwork (65%) or baking (28%), and there were a few midwives and seamstresses (3% each). Their employment hopes and expectations followed the same pattern: 83% (the men) chose agriculture and 16% (the women) chose craftwork, especially weaving.

Their experience of formal schooling was very little. 33% have had none, and 67% have not completed primary school. The vast majority are therefore

illiterate (see tables below). The only training since school was training as health workers for 11%, more than six years ago in their own country.

Their educational ambitions are closely tied to their employment wishes and their lack of formal schooling. 89% want to learn to read and write, and 84% want some kind of technical or craft training: more than half in agriculture, about 10% each as carpenters and in other crafts and 5% as nursing auxiliaries. Another major educational ambition is to find education for their children, most of whom cannot attend school at present.

Distribution of refugees surveyed in camps in state of Chiapas, Mexico, by schooling

	%
No schooling	33.3
Primary not completed	66.7
Total	100

Distribution of refugees surveyed in camps in State of Chiapas, Mexico, according to occupation, by sex, January 1983

	%
Men:	
Agricultural worker	87.3
Craftsman	6.0
Tailor	3.3
Barber	0.7
Health worker	2.0
Carpenter	0.7
Total	100
Women:	
Craftswoman	65.0
Baker	28.4
Midwife	3.3
Seamstress	3.3
Total	100

Distribution of refugees surveyed in camps in State of Chiapas, Mexico, by employment they would like to obtain, January 1983

	%
Farm worker	83.3
Weaver	16.7
Total	100

Distribution of refugees surveyed in camps in State of Chiapas, Mexico, by type of technical studies desired, January 1983

	%
Agriculture	53.0
Stockbreeding	5.3
Carpentry	10.7
Craftwork	10.7
Nursing auxiliary	5.3
Not specified	15.0
Total	100

Conclusions

There are two predominant educational needs among the refugees of south-east Mexico: primary schools for the children and functional literacy related to agriculture and craftwork for the adults. Again, however, it would be important to link the latter with real opportunities to exercise their traditional occupations and newly acquired skills. Given that many are living in remote and often isolated circumstances it is likely that distance-teaching materials and support services will form a necessary component in any experimental provision.

REFUGEES IN COSTA RICA

Background

The existence of refugees in Costa Rica began to be a numerically important problem in 1977; before then, it was a matter of small groups, mainly intellectuals, who were able to integrate into national life without too much difficulty.

Starting in 1977, with the worsening of the civil war in Nicaragua, there was a massive influx of refugees with meagre resources from that country, totalling about 50,000 persons, most of whom have been repatriated since 1979.

The arrival of Salvadorean refugees of a rather different kind began with a group of peasants who occupied the Costa Rican Embassy in San Salvador. This group was initially located on an estate expropriated from Somoza and later transferred to the Los Angeles Farming Scheme, of which further mention will be made later.

In February 1981 there were about 7,500 people in this group and its numbers reached nearly 10,000 by the end of that year. The number of refugees then stabilised, because of measures introduced by the government to prevent further influxes.

According to UNHCR statistics, which do not agree with other independent estimates, in May 1982 there were reckoned to be 10,000 Salvadorean refugees and 5,000 of other nationalities. The latter were mostly Cuban (refugees in transit), Guatemalan and Nicaraguan. The National Refugee Co-ordinating Committee gives an approximate figure of 15,000 refugees.

Figures from the same source indicate that UNHCR is looking after 8,500 Salvadoreans, 850 Cubans, 350 Nicaraguans and 150 Guatemalans, in addition to 150 other nationalities (Hondurans and South Americans).

Settlement patterns

The only official refuge is in Guanacaste, part of the Los Angeles Model Scheme, started by UNHCR and administered by the Costa Rican Red Cross. In mid-1982, 318 refugees came under the scheme and it was hoped that the figure would reach 1,000; however, this has not been achieved because refugees refuse to join the scheme, as there are said to be problems about the way the Red Cross runs the camp (the refugees play no part in managing the scheme and organisational initiatives are suppressed under the pretext of accusations of 'subversion').

Another centre where refugees are concentrated is the so-called 'Fatima Shelter', organised by the parish of Fatima, in Heredia, and administered collectively. This centre is not strictly speaking a camp, but rather collective accommodation, linked with various productive and cultural activities, in buildings provided by the parish. Some of the refugees at this centre receive individual aid from UNHCR.

The remaining refugees are distributed in private accommodation, of necessity shared, since the economic support they receive is insufficient and they are not allowed to work, except on authorised schemes which, apart from being scarce, require very little labour.

Refugee administration and the provision of services

In Costa Rica as in other countries there is at government level a national committee for refugees (Comision Nacional para Refugiados - CONAPARE), attached to the Ministry of Justice, whose job is to formulate and carry out national policy for refugees, and to co-ordinate the work of all agencies and government bodies concerned with refugees. It contains representatives of all major government ministries concerned. In addition to CONAPARE there is a non-government co-ordinating committee (Instancia de Co-ordinacion Inter-institucional para Refugiados) to bring together private concerned agencies, such as the World University Service (WUS), a group of Salvadorean solidarity organisations, and church agencies.

Some refugees receive financial assistance from UNHCR, but the amount is very small. It is also very difficult for them to work, since they can only do so in the small authorised schemes which need very little labour. Consequently, the refugees do not have the income which would enable them to meet their most basic needs, such as medical attention, accommodation, food, clothing and transport.

Several of the non-government agencies are concerned to develop schemes for self-help and self-sufficiency, and some UNHCR finance is available for such schemes. CONAPARE, however, seems to impose extremely restrictive norms in approving such schemes, such as insisting that they employ Costa Rican labour when available, and that they only use the manual, cultural and traditional skills of the applicants.

General characteristics and living and working conditions

The survey carried out for the study covered 195 refugees, of whom 60% were men and 40% women. The majority, 55%, were between the ages of 16 and 30, as shown in the table which follows.

Distribution of refugees in Costa Rica by age, February 1983

	Number	%
15 or less	25	12.8
16-20	46	23.5
21-30	62	31.7
31-40	27	13.8
41-50	12	6.1
Over 50	16	8.2
Not known	7	3.5
Total	195	100

The youth of the sample is reflected in the fact that 63% were unmarried. All those surveyed were from El Salvador, half from urban and semi-urban areas and half from rural areas. Most left with their families or joined them on arrival, and 80% live in family groups of 6 or 7 people. Most occupy wooden shacks which, outside the Guanacaste scheme, are generally in need of repair. Most people interviewed, apart from those on the scheme, buy food from shops. Nearly 17% claimed they could obtain land for agriculture if they needed it.

More than a third of those interviewed had jobs, though many of these are employed in the Guanacaste scheme (see table below). The actual number with jobs is probably higher than this, because many are working illegally. Very few indeed (12%) said they had additional sources of income through schemes, largely set up as a result of government policy.

Distribution of refugees in Costa Rica by present type of work, February 1983

	Number	%
Agriculture and horticulture	17	8.7
Poultry and stockbreeding	7	3.5
Domestic occupations	15	7.6
Tailoring, dressmaking	13	6.6
Labourer	3	1.5
Miscellaneous	10	5.1
Have no work	130	66.6
Total	195	100

Educational background and educational and employment aspirations

Only 8% of those interviewed had any higher education and only another 11% had completed secondary schooling. A further 38% had completed primary school or started secondary and 25% had started but not completed primary. 17% did not reply, of whom many can be assumed not to have been to school at all. Hardly any of those interviewed were following any kind of course at the time, and most had experienced only traditional educational methods in the past. They had a high level of educational ambition, however. Nearly half wanted more academic education, many at primary level, often for basic literacy and numeracy. A considerably larger number wanted technical studies, fairly evenly distributed. Details of previous education and of their choices for further studies are given in the following tables.

Distribution of refugees in Costa Rica by schooling, February 1983

	Number	%
Primary not completed	48	24.6
Primary completed	31	15.9
Secondary not completed	43	22.0
Secondary completed	23	11.7
University not completed	13	6.6
University completed	3	1.5
No reply	34	17.4
Total	195	100

Distribution of refugees in Costa Rica by type of studies it is hoped to pursue, February 1983

	Number	%
Academic subjects		
Mathematics	19	9.7
English	30	15.4
French	9	4.6
Geography	3	1.5
History	7	3.6
Economics	5	2.6
Sociology	8	4.1
Politics	12	6.2
Chemistry	6	3.1
Business management	17	8.7
Engineering	12	6.2
Education	11	5.6
Architecture	2	1.0
Primary education	18	9.2
Secondary education	2	1.0
Other	20	10.3
No reply	54	27.7
Technical subjects		
Carpentry, cabinet-making	8	4.1
Metalwork	2	1.0
Technical drawing	15	7.7
Mechanics	22	11.3
Electricity	19	9.7
Refrigeration	4	2.0
Nursing auxiliary	20	10.3
Cookery	15	7.7
Nutrition	9	4.6
Agriculture	15	7.7
Horticulture	13	6.7
Poultry farming	11	5.6
Stockbreeding	15	7.7
Other	23	11.8
No reply	47	24.1

N.B. Totals come to more than 100% because more than one answer was allowed.

Distribution of refugees in Costa Rica by type of work believed to be obtainable, February 1983

	Number	%
Agriculture	10	5.1
Professional, technical	14	7.2
Craftsman, operative	39	20.0
Office employee or similar	7	3.5
Trader, salesman	6	3.1
Workman, labourer	11	5.6
Transport	2	1.0
Services	21	10.8
Any	4	2.1
None	7	3.6
Do not know, no reply	74	38.0
Total	195	100

These ambitions are associated with expressed long-term aspirations for employment. It is important to note, however, that many of those expressing such wishes had not had any recent experience of studying, and would therefore need careful support and supervision if they started.

Conclusion

As in Mexico City, refugees in Costa Rica are eager for education, which they hope will improve their poor prospects of obtaining employment. In many cases they recognise the need for further academic education in order to achieve this. Any education or training provided, however, must be closely linked to the opportunities and the means to realise such job aspirations, a task that will require careful research and negotiation under the present employment circumstances and regulations for refugees in Costa Rica.

PART III - Emerging themes

Chapter 8 : Variations and similarities

Two general conclusions emerge from the experience of organising and conducting our studies. First it has taken much longer than originally expected to carry them out, largely because of the intense sensitivity of the authorities in many countries to any in-depth study of refugee conditions and ambitions, and their reluctance to expose their own activities, and the refugees, to international scrutiny. This reluctance is understandable, in view of the security risks which are often involved and the complications which the very presence of the refugees can cause in relations with neighbouring countries. On the other hand it makes it difficult to discover exactly what kind of educational services are most appropriate. Secondly, however, we have found that in several countries the enquiries themselves have led to an increased awareness of educational needs and of new ways of providing for those needs, and, in a few cases, the studies have already contributed to policy changes.

From the case studies themselves we have identified six major variables which can be used to categorise different educational requirements among refugees. These are:

1. Settlement patterns
2. Linguistic and cultural affinity to the host society
3. Mobility or permanent settlement prospects
4. Age
5. Previous education
6. Economic and employment prospects

The first three of these suggest broad characteristics usually relating to whole communities rather than individuals; the latter three usually distinguish groups of refugees within their communities. Let us look briefly at the first three in turn, and the last three, which are closely inter-related, together.

Settlement patterns

There are two main categories here. In the first are people who are settled, voluntarily or as a result of government policy, in refugee camps or organised communities. This accounts for more than half of the refugees in Somalia, probably just under half of those in eastern Sudan, nearly all the rural refugees in Swaziland and in south-east Mexico, the vast majority of Namibian refugees in Angola and Zambia, about half the refugees in Botswana, and a very small proportion of those in Kenya, Costa Rica and Mexico City. It is easier to provide such refugees economically with special services, but hard to integrate them into existing national educational institutions. Secondly, there are the spontaneously settled refugees who have managed to find or build somewhere to live, as individuals or in families, in the host community. It is naturally much harder to count such spontaneously settled refugees, or to identify their special needs and make special provision for them. On the other hand, because they are not concentrated in large numbers, they can more easily find places in local schools and colleges.

Linguistic and cultural affinity

Where the language and culture of refugees are almost the same as those of their host society, as in Somalia, in Ndzevane in Swaziland, in Mexico and

in Costa Rica, the existing educational provision is usually suitable for the refugees, who can therefore participate in the educational system, if places are available, without difficulty. Where this is not the case, as in the Sudan, or Kenya, and among Namibians in Angola, or Angolans in Botswana, educational participation requires special provision, special teachers and teaching materials, and therefore tends to work against rapid integration into the host community.

Expected mobility

If, like the Namibians, to a lesser extent the Eritreans and Ethiopians in the Sudan and the El Salvadoreans in Costa Rica, the refugees expect to return home in the not-too-distant future, they need education which prepares them for return, and for re-absorption into their own society, possibly with new national and political responsibilities. If there is no prospect of return home, then education must help them to fit into their host society or prepare them for life in a third country.

Age, previous education and economic and employment prospects

Children under 15 are usually at or in need of primary school (and are more likely to have reached or to be able to reach more advanced levels of primary education than their parents) and are, usually automatically, not employed or immediately employable. Young adults between the ages of 15 and 30 have in most cases undergone some primary education (though a significant minority have not, and a large number have had inadequate opportunities) and are now mainly concerned to improve their formal education and to link it closely to vocational training and to immediate employment or earning opportunities. A small but vocal minority are seeking tertiary education and professional training and employment.

Older adults, that is those over 30 - and the distinction becomes sharper over the age of 40 - are likely to have had limited formal education, especially if they are women, to suffer from language disadvantages if they have sought refuge in an alien culture, and to be primarily concerned with education directly linked to improving their immediate earning capacity, their and their families' living conditions or even their chances of survival. The numbers and proportions in each of these groups vary dramatically from community to community, even within a single host country. For example nearly a third of the refugees in Somalia are of primary-school age; of the rest the vast majority are adult women with virtually no formal education. A somewhat similar pattern applies to the rural South African refugees in the Ndzevane settlement in Swaziland, and to Guatemalan refugees in south-east Mexico, though there the adults are more evenly divided between women and men. The implications are that the most outstanding educational need is for primary school places and therefore for teacher training facilities for the minority who are qualified to undergo it, and for non-formal education for life-improvement and income generating skills for the adults.

By contrast the young adults with reasonable standards of formal education who predominate among the South African refugees of urban origin in Swaziland and Botswana or the Salvadoreans in Mexico City want post-primary education with vocational and professional orientation. But their numbers hardly justify the expenditure of disproportionate resources on the creation of secondary or secondary/vocational schools - or even of places at such schools as exist in the host countries, whose ability to provide adequate opportunities for their own people at that level is severely limited. These distinctions have very clear implications for

their educational needs and ambitions and for the circumstances in which they could be provided.

In the next four chapters we shall look in some detail at the way these variables, and the categories they determine, apply to the provision of education for refugees at four levels: primary schools for children and the resources required to provide them, secondary-level courses for adults and for young adults, adult non-formal education and vocational training both at basic and at post-primary level.

Chapter 9 : Primary schools, teacher training and support

The primary task

A large proportion of the refugees in the nine different communities we have studied are primary-school-age children: for example, in Somalia 60%, in south-east Mexico just over 50%, and in Ndzevane in Swaziland also just over 50%. This is also true - though we do not have the figures - of the Namibians in Angola and Zambia and of refugees in the eastern Sudan. It applies particularly to situations which have led to the mass exodus of rural families. In such communities the most important educational task, recognised both by the parents and by the refugee administration, is to provide these young children with primary school places.

Alternative patterns of provision

In all the above examples, except in south-east Mexico, primary education is being provided, though with varying degrees of completeness and adequacy. Different methods of meeting the need have been applied in different countries. One regular response, perhaps the most natural and predictable one, is to attempt to provide places for refugee children in the host society's own primary schools. This is the official policy of the government of the Sudan, as it is in Kenya. It is at this primary level that most countries have the nearest to a complete provision for their own citizens, in terms of both numbers and geographical spread. Provision of places in primary schools is also cheaper per student than in secondary schools or tertiary education, and because primary schooling is the beginning of formal education, it is assumed that children can adapt more easily then to a new language and a new culture than later in their lives. After all, in most African countries education is the most important part of the process of moulding linguistically and culturally heterogeneous communities into one nation. It is therefore seen as a way of integrating refugees into the host society.

All these arguments, however, have serious flaws. Comparatively few countries in the third world have yet achieved universal primary education, and refugees often settle, whether by choice or by direction, in the more remote areas, where schools are less easily accessible. Similarly, even at primary level, many countries' resources are stretched to the limit and governments are reluctant to divert them to refugees before they can meet their own needs completely. As regards assimilation, there are two major problems. In many cases neither the refugee community nor the host society accepts integration as the long-term solution, and the refugees do not wish their children to lose contact with their language or their cultural heritage. Secondly, it is now widely recognised that children face immense difficulties coping with the content and the skills which primary education is supposed to teach, if they have to do so in a language and an environment alien to them and to their families; the more alien the language the greater their disadvantage and the less well they are likely to do at school.

For these reasons it has become necessary in many places to provide special primary schools for refugee children. Sometimes this is done within the framework of the national system. In Botswana a primary school has been built in the refugee settlement at Dukwe as part of the LWF/UNHCR contribution. It caters for the comparatively small number of primary-school refugee children and for the much larger number of children of Batswana officials working in the settlement and of the Batswana community living nearby. Though it is largely staffed by refugee teachers it has now

been handed over, administratively, to the local district council. In Ndzevane, in Swaziland, UNHCR and LWF have built a large primary school entirely for the South African Swazi refugee inhabitants of the settlement which is staffed and administered by Swazi teachers and officials.

Elsewhere, as in the Sudan, the national schools, some of them catering almost totally for refugee children, are supplemented by special schools run by voluntary agencies or by the refugees' own organisations. These have been set up partly because of the pressure of numbers, and partly because of the urge to provide education within the linguistic and cultural context of the refugees. They are further supplemented in many settlements by Koranic and Bible schools. In all these cases it is reported that there is a serious lack of carefully prepared teaching materials and of training and support for the volunteer untrained teachers. Even in the government schools, with Sudanese teachers, there are no special materials or training to enable the teachers to provide remedial Arabic language teaching for children for whom it is not their mother tongue or courses in Ethiopian and Eritrean history, languages or culture. Our case study suggests that specialist support services and in-service training for teachers could be used both to upgrade the voluntary agency schools and broaden the curriculum of government schools. Such services and training are of vital importance as a means of improving the standards, effectiveness and relevance of the primary education already provided, and thereby increasing its acceptability to the refugee parents.

The most impressive provision of primary schools for refugees we have seen in our case studies is in Somalia. There was no way in which the existing national primary schools (covering 28%, namely 230,000 children, in 1977 according to UNICEF, though expanding rapidly) could begin to absorb an influx of at least double that number of refugee primary-school-age children. It was necessary to set up a crash programme, both of teacher training and of school creation, in order to meet the crisis. A scheme was therefore quickly put into effect for training by in-service methods a whole new teaching force from among the refugees, as described in the case study summary in the previous section of this report. It has enabled 1,400 refugee teachers to be enrolled for training in two years and 35,000 children to be admitted to primary school.

The Somali scheme was closely modelled, by the Danish consultants who designed and helped to set it up, on the UNRWA-Unesco Institute of Education for Palestinian refugees in the Middle East, to which we referred in Chapter 1. That programme was established in 1964 to try to cope with the situation in Palestinian refugee camps where approximately 90% of the 4,000 primary school teachers were unqualified or underqualified. It was based on a plan to use correspondence courses in both academic subjects and pedagogical training for in-service teachers, combined with regular supervision by itinerant field supervisors and occasional face-to-face seminars. The correspondence courses included exercises to be completed by the students after studying each section of the printed materials, which were marked by the Institute's tutors. Between 1964 and 1978, when the initial training programme was virtually completed, about 8,000 teachers were put through its courses. From the mid-1970s onwards the Institute has increasingly concentrated on more advanced teacher training. It is an integral part of a comprehensive educational programme for Palestinian refugees throughout the Middle East, which ensures that teacher training is organised jointly with school administration and supervision.

There are seven important and almost certainly replicable features of these two projects. First, they both developed to cope with an emergency and to provide some kind of education quickly for children in refugee camps. Secondly, they did this by recruiting untrained refugee teachers and putting them almost immediately into makeshift schools to teach. Thirdly, the system is based on a concept of in-service correspondence courses with occasional face-to-face seminars and supervision. Fourthly, the training it gives is linked very closely with the curricula, the materials and support services it provides for teachers. Fifthly, the same organisation is responsible for the training of teachers and for the establishment, equipping and administration of the schools. Sixthly, having crash-trained the teachers initially it provides, in subsequent years, for their continual up-grading. And finally, the qualifications it gives teachers are strictly parallel to those given to national teachers by the ministries of education in the countries where it is operating.

The possibility of replication

This model of specialist provision, as developed in the Middle East and in Somalia, seems to have great potential for application in similar circumstances among refugees elsewhere. After all, the experience of the UNRWA/Unesco programme has already been used successfully for crash teacher training programmes in countries such as Botswana, Swaziland and Tanzania. For refugees it is primarily relevant to large communities made up of families, either where the language and culture of the refugees are different from those of the host society, or where the latter's resources for primary education are seriously overstretched by the influx of refugees.

We have already referred to the potential for in-service training and specialist support services for teachers among the refugees in the Sudan. In addition there seems to be a very strong case for such a programme among Namibian refugees in Angola and Zambia. All three of the above characteristics apply to these communities. In response SWAPO has set up its own educational system, with widest coverage at primary level. But it is seriously handicapped by a continuous and growing shortage of trained teachers for its schools, which cannot be overcome by traditional college-based teacher training programmes. As we have seen in the Namibian case study, SWAPO has set up a distance-teaching unit which could, with comparative ease, add to its existing programmes a teacher training project. Such a programme could use a similar combination of distance-learning materials, individual and group study, in-class teaching apprenticeship and occasional tutorial supervision. In this way a much larger number of the people in the camps who are potential future teachers - including, possibly, many of the lower secondary-level courses' study-group leaders - could be trained much more economically and efficiently than by any system of residential full-time training. Their value for the independent Namibia of the future, as well as for the existing refugee primary-school children, would be immense.

Similarly, though under very different conditions, the case study of Guatemalan refugees in south-east Mexico shows that the main educational priority is for primary schools for the children. As yet no adequate facilities exist. The details of any such programme of in-service teacher training, primary school creation and support in south-east Mexico would have to be worked out very carefully with the refugees, the Mexican authorities and the voluntary agencies concerned. The relevant curriculum, the links between a refugee project and the Mexican teacher-training and primary-school systems, and the ways in which Mexican

institutions and materials could be used would have to be carefully examined. A system worked out in the Middle East, or in Somalia, is likely to have to be adapted, sometimes radically, to the circumstances of Central America. There seems to be little doubt, however, that such a system, adapted as necessary, could rapidly be set up to provide emergency primary-school places for refugee children there.

Conclusions

From these case studies it is obvious that the provision of primary-school places for refugee children is one of the main educational priorities, that it is perhaps the most urgent, and that in many contexts it requires special arrangements. In such circumstances the need is for traditional, formal schools, or the closest approximation to them that resources allow. Distance-teaching techniques nevertheless have a crucial role to play in making such emergency schools possible, by training teachers on-the-job, and by providing professional support and supervision.

It is the combination of these elements in the Palestinian and Somali system which makes it particularly relevant to refugees. The initial in-service training programme by distance-teaching methods makes it possible to start emergency schools immediately and at the same time to train teachers for them from among the refugee population. It also allows for continuing subsequent academic and professional up-grading, without disrupting the schools; this has been organised successfully in the Middle East and is planned for Somalia. Professional support takes the form of teaching materials, teachers' guides, audio-visual, technical and scientific teaching kits, directly linking the pedagogical and academic content of the training to day-by-day classroom practice. This ensures that the emergency schools can attempt to provide quality teaching in spite of their physical circumstances and can make their teaching relevant to the cultural background as well as to the living conditions of the students. Finally the supervision of teachers in training has been combined in both Somalia and the Middle East with the administration of the schools themselves. This helps to avoid the familiar gap between pedagogical training and life in schools which is the experience of new teachers the world over, and reduces the bureaucratic dangers threatening a supplementary, non-national emergency programme grafted on to an inevitably reluctant national ministry of education.

There are two additional lessons to be learned from Somalia and the Middle East. First the system has been seen to be efficient by the national ministries of education with which it has been linked, which are seeking ways of expanding or adapting it to improve their own, national, teacher training programmes. This is obviously easier to do when language and culture are shared by refugees and hosts, but elsewhere the system and the methods, even if not the materials, could be adopted. Secondly, once the resources to run a teacher training and support programme exist, both the materials production and distribution unit and the study group and tutorial supervision network can be developed to cater for other educational needs, such as secondary-level courses, other vocational training or non-formal education.

Chapter 10 : Secondary studies for children and adults

The need in perspective

In most of our case studies there is only a small proportion of people, whether children or adults, who have qualified for academic secondary education but are not receiving it. Less than 5% of our sample in settlements in the eastern Sudan, for example, had completed primary school; in Somalia, in south-east Mexico and in Ndzevane in Swaziland the proportion is almost certainly even smaller. As we have seen, the mass exodus from Namibia over the last few years has meant that refugees with little or no education now predominate, at least numerically, over those who were attending or are ready to start secondary school. This was less true of Namibian exiles in the early years of their struggle and remains less true of refugees from South Africa, where secondary-school students have been an important force in the revolt against apartheid.

But 5% of 400,000, as in the Sudan if our sample is numerically representative, is 20,000 potential students. And SWAPO has estimated that there are, potentially, approximately 5,000 students in their camps who could benefit from the lower secondary-level courses being offered by the Namibian Extension Unit. The numbers of secondary-level students amongst the refugees in Botswana and amongst the urban South African refugees in Swaziland have been sufficient for the authorities there to make special provision for their educational needs. In Costa Rica 42% of the refugees surveyed had not completed primary education and 8% had had some university education, leaving 50% potential secondary school students. If the sample was representative this would mean between 6,000 and 7,000 refugees needing some additional secondary education. Even in Ndzevane in Swaziland and in Somalia, where the very few students who currently qualify for secondary school can be absorbed quite easily into the national schools, numbers are growing rapidly, as the primary schools begin to graduate students from their senior classes; very soon the national secondary schools will not be able to take them all.

These aspiring secondary-school students, moreover, though proportionally few, are of very great significance to the refugee communities in which they live. They are potentially important as earners and job-winners, as well as producers, organisers and community workers. If there are no opportunities for them to pursue their education where they are they will seek - and many will find - opportunities in other countries. Their own communities will thus be deprived of the results of their education. It is therefore important to find ways of meeting their educational requirements within their communities, without diverting too many of the meagre resources available away from the needs of the majority.

For secondary schools in their traditional form are expensive to create and to maintain, as the UNHCR has discovered in Swaziland and in the Sudan, and as most of the host governments know from their own national experience. Moreover, if full provision were made for the needs of refugee communities they would in this respect be significantly better off than their host communities. In most situations, therefore, it does not seem possible or justifiable to create separate secondary-level teaching facilities exclusively for refugees.

Different kinds of need

We can distinguish, for refugees as for everyone else, three main groups of potential secondary-level students. The first are young teenage

primary-school leavers: both those who have just left primary schools in their place of asylum, and those who left school just before going into exile; their need is for junior secondary or even remedial upper primary schooling. Secondly there are the young adults who have had two or three years of secondary schooling either at home or in exile and now require senior secondary schooling. And lastly there are adults who left school some years ago, who are qualified for either of these levels of secondary education and for whom such opportunities would considerably improve the chances of employment. Each of these groups needs a different system of provision.

The first group are comparable to primary-school children and it is arguable that they need the organised support and the continuous personal tuition which can only be supplied by a normal school. Even if this is not possible, they must be part of a system providing close and continuous support and supervision in their studies. The content of what they study, moreover, needs to be broad, covering the development of skills and understanding in subjects which prepare them for academic, vocational and civic activities.

The second group is likely to be the smallest. Its interests are also likely to be the most easily defined, because they are probably centred on, and therefore prescribed by, public examinations. The particular set of examinations they need to take is determined by the system under which they have started their secondary education and by the qualifications they need in the country of asylum to continue their education or to get jobs. On the other hand they are still of an age at which, it is generally agreed, independent or home study, on their own, is extremely difficult, so that they require close tutorial guidance and supervision. On the other hand it is unlikely that there are enough of them in any one community to justify special provision. There is a degree of international homogeneity of public examinations at this level, and a number of reputable institutions in different countries producing learning materials geared to these examinations.

The third group is more diversified. Age and educational background vary considerably within the group in each community. What they have in common is that they are adults. Their motivation to study, once aroused, is likely to be stronger and more specific. Many have family responsibilities, and some have an established career or defined ambitions. In any community they will probably want to follow a wide range of subjects, so that the group for any particular subject is likely to be quite small, as is clearly exemplified in the surveys of educational ambitions at this level in all the case studies. On the other hand their maturity and the clarity of their motivation make supported self-study methods possible and probably more appropriate than a school, because of their other responsibilities and activities.

Alternative approaches to provision

Nearly all the case studies, with the possible exceptions of Somalia and south-east Mexico, show that there are people in need of education in each of the three categories we have just described. In a few cases experiments in provision have already been launched, or are being planned. Though we have emphasised the differences between these three groups of potential students, some of the experiments are attempting to cater for all three. So long as the special needs of each group are borne in mind, this is a sensible way of trying to make efficient use of the resources available.

At secondary level, especially where the numbers are very small, as in Somalia, it makes sense for host governments, with financial assistance from, for example, UNHCR, to provide places in their own schools. But very soon, as the numbers grow, as they are already doing even in Somalia, this solution becomes inadequate. In Swaziland UNHCR has erected a new secondary school for the government, which is intended to admit a significant proportion of refugee students. In the Sudan UNHCR has built and finances several intermediate schools exclusively for refugees, but this is a very expensive way of catering for only a small proportion of the refugees qualified to enter. In Ndzevane, in Swaziland, an application to open a special junior secondary school has been made to UNHCR, as yet without success. In Costa Rica and Mexico City, in theory at least, refugees are eligible for places in government secondary-level institutions; in practice only a very small proportion of those qualified are following such courses. In countries where secondary-level resources are very few and already in great demand, therefore, absorption into existing schools, or the building of new and special schools for refugees, are only able to provide for very small numbers at very great expense. These are inevitably temporary and incomplete solutions to the problem. The same applies to an even greater extent to the provision of scholarships for refugee students to attend secondary schools in third countries, a solution which begins to be applied at senior secondary level by some agencies, though its major impact is at tertiary level.

In the course of this study we have had contact with three experiments at secondary level in which distance-teaching materials have been used in combination with some form of face-to-face supervision. One of them, the Namibian Extension Unit, works mainly at junior secondary or remedial post-primary level. The second, in Dukwe in Botswana, covers junior and senior secondary courses. And the third, the smallest, in one camp in the Sudan, is at senior secondary level. They have faced a variety of problems.

The Sudan experiment is a small-scale attempt to set up a senior secondary service for 25 students to prepare them for the London General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level exams. The students have been provided with correspondence courses in various subjects, mainly obtained from correspondence colleges in Britain, though one course came from Botswana. These have been used by the students in a study group with tutorial advice and assistance from unqualified international volunteers. In spite of what should have been favourable conditions for such a study group, there seem to have been many problems which have prevented it from succeeding. Though no careful analysis of the project has been carried out, it appears that several of the courses were not suitable for the students - either because of language problems, or because the materials were pitched at a level too advanced for the students, or in some cases because they were inadequate as teaching materials. Neither the students nor the tutors were used to self-study methods and there has been no provision for training. The experiment has been run without any support service in the Sudan which could have helped the participants to overcome or at least minimise these problems. Finally, it appears that insufficient time was allowed for the students to prepare for their examinations under these unfamiliar conditions of study. In spite of this disappointing experience the approach offers possibilities which must be further tested under closer control, with more support and in more favourable circumstances.

In Botswana a similar approach has been used, on a somewhat larger scale and over a longer period. It started amongst Soweto refugees from South Africa in Gaborone in the late 1970s. Most of these were secondary-school

students and an attempt was made to provide them with an opportunity to continue their studies in Gaborone. Correspondence courses were obtained from both the Botswana Extension College (BEC) (as the Botswana government correspondence college was then called) and, in subjects in which BEC did not have courses, from the National Extension College in Britain. These were studied with tutorial guidance from teachers in Gaborone, and occasional face-to-face teaching, including access to supervised laboratory work, in the university in Gaborone. When the refugees were moved to Dukwe the face-to-face services were no longer available and the Educational Resources Centre (ERC), as the project is called, attempted to compensate by recruiting tutors from among the more highly educated South African refugees, who were, nevertheless, not qualified teachers. The correspondence courses were used as text materials and teachers' guides by the tutors, in what became predominantly a face-to-face teaching system. The examination results, however, were disappointing. The problems identified were: the high degree of mobility amongst students (the students who studied longest often left just before taking their exams; those who took their exams were often comparatively recent arrivals); the equally high level of mobility amongst the tutors (who were usually themselves seeking opportunities to complete their own tertiary education); the lack of qualified teachers; the lack of materials (the correspondence courses were officially kept in the library as reference materials, but often disappeared with the students and therefore rapidly became incomplete); and the inability of the Centre to offer vocational subjects in order to increase the students' motivation. An attempt has been made since early 1982, partly as a result of the survey which was carried out for our case study, to make the system more flexible by increasing its reliance on correspondence materials and correspondence tuition, by diversifying the curriculum and by using the tutors more for individual guidance and assistance linked to the correspondence materials. This change does not seem to have had enough support in the form of teaching materials, and tutor training and supervision, from the Botswana Department of Non-formal Education (as the BEC is now called). Neither has the ERC been able to use courses, especially vocational courses, science courses and higher-level courses, from outside Botswana. Though the experience since early 1982 has not been analysed, and in spite of the problems the ERC has faced throughout its life, its potential as a model for economic secondary-level provision for refugees seems great, if an adequate support and information service could be provided.

The biggest experiment at this level with which we are familiar is SWAPO's Namibian Extension Unit (NEU), based in Lusaka but catering for refugee students in both Angola and Zambia, and described briefly in the Namibian case study above. As was pointed out there, school students have been an important force in the struggle against South Africa's occupation of Namibia and, in particular, against its imposition of inferior 'Bantu' education, with Afrikaans as the language of instruction. Many of these students are now refugees. At the same time SWAPO is trying to build up, in exile, a force of future teachers, administrators, artisans and community leaders, and for this purpose is working to upgrade the educational standards of these post-primary refugee students.

As a first priority the NEU has prepared remedial upper primary/junior secondary courses, in English and mathematics. Their purpose is to equip students both for further secondary-level and vocational education, and for middle-level administrative and community leadership. The courses are self-study materials which are used by teacherless groups, under the guidance of group leaders, who are themselves students but are trained to lead their fellows through the exercises and study activities which the

courses prescribe. These groups meet several times a week and follow a timetable drawn up by the NEU.

The courses consist of printed books, audio-cassette tapes, and exercises and assignments which the students complete and either mark themselves or send, through their group leaders, to specially appointed tutors. These are full-time appointees of the NEU who mark the students' work, train and supervise the group leaders and generally administer and support the whole experiment in the camps. In Lusaka the Unit has a central office where the courses are produced, if necessary with outside specialist assistance, and where the distribution and student progress records are processed. Under the supervision of the Unit in Lusaka there are part-time field supervisors in both the Angola and Zambia settlements.

As stated in the case study there are now approximately 2,000 students in Zambia and Angola following these courses. The NEU is adding a more basic English course and a more advanced mathematics course to the existing courses and will then branch out into other subjects at both higher and lower academic levels. For the latter it plans to produce its own courses, and for the former it has begun to negotiate with the Zambia National Correspondence College, to provide Junior Certificate and London University General Certificate of Education courses for those few who are qualified to pursue more advanced secondary-level courses.

The plan is that, unless, as is hoped, the struggle for independence is successful in the near future, the basic courses will be made available to students graduating from SWAPO's primary schools, and the more advanced secondary courses will be offered to all those who successfully complete the basic courses. No thorough evaluation of the NEU's progress has yet been organised, and the use of external courses for more advanced students has not yet started, but the initial experience, after very considerable problems in establishing and organisating the Unit, seems, at least on anecdotal evidence, to be extremely hopeful.

Conclusions about replication

Any conclusions from the examples we have looked at of secondary education for refugees must be very tentative. For the evidence is mainly from very recent or very small-scale and piecemeal experiments. There are, nevertheless, several strong indications of what is needed and what can be done.

The first is that even at lower secondary-school level it is highly unlikely that adequate provision can be made by establishing traditional, institutionalised schools, because schools at this level require so much qualified manpower and equipment, and because the potential students are so mobile. The best that can be hoped for, in most refugee communities, is some combination of regular supervised study groups and self- or group-learning courses. The younger the students and the lower the educational level of the courses, the closer the supervision and the more detailed the tutorial guidance needed.

It seems clear from all three experiments we have described that it is the quality of the supervision and support for the study groups which makes the difference between success and failure. This support includes training and continuing guidance for group leaders and unqualified local tutors, which, in turn, if possible at all, requires a central or national unit, established exclusively for refugees or already providing similar services within the host country. Two models seem appropriate, especially

for lower secondary provision: the first is the Namibian Extension Unit, though a wider range of courses would be called for not all necessarily specially written for each particular refugee community; the second is the so-called 'upper-tops' system, established in Zimbabwe over the last three years, in which two extra classes are grafted onto primary schools, to take students through the first two years of the secondary curriculum, and for which special self-study science materials have been developed.

The first model is probably appropriate for large communities, like the one in the Sudan. There it is proposed that a special distance-education unit be established to provide educational opportunities for refugees at various levels. One part of its proposed programme would be to provide secondary courses for students qualified to take them. In a few cases the unit might have to develop its own courses, especially at lower secondary level; at more advanced levels it is assumed that it would obtain correspondence courses appropriate to the students' requirements from other African countries, or if necessary from overseas. Unlike the small IRC project described above, however, the Sudan unit would assume special responsibility for selecting appropriate courses and for establishing and supervising tutorial support services. The second system would be a way of developing the lower classes at the Educational Resource Centre in Dukwe in Botswana, linked if possible to the DNFE, or of setting up lower secondary provision in Ndzevane in Swaziland, in co-operation with Swaziland's correspondence college, the Emlalatini Development Centre.

At senior secondary level, and for adults, a wider range of choices, and a greater degree of flexibility, are needed usually for much smaller numbers of students. To meet these requirements, especially when the students' educational background, the curricula they are accustomed to and the examinations for which they want to prepare are different from those of their host country, it may be possible to obtain courses and learning materials prepared elsewhere. It may also be necessary to provide local tutorial services to help individual students and small groups to study these courses. In most places this will only be possible if the agencies working with such refugees have access to a specialised information service, which can locate and obtain the necessary courses and help to establish the tutorial service.

There is a common theme running through all our enquiries about secondary-level educational needs, to which we return in Chapter 12 but which must be emphasised here. Refugee students who wish to follow secondary courses are motivated mainly by their urgent need to equip themselves to find jobs and to earn money. All levels of secondary education, whether for young refugees or for adults, must therefore include a strong element of vocational training or preparation.

Finally, as at all the other levels considered in this part of the report, the need for secondary education for refugees coincides, in most countries, with an urgent need for expanded national services of a similar kind. Where a national distance-teaching institution already exists, this can and should be developed, with international financial assistance, to cater for the special needs of the refugees. Where there is no such institution, it is highly desirable that any unit developed to provide services to refugees, as is proposed, for example, in the Sudan, should offer its services to local students as well, thereby justifying the input of whatever national resources can be made available.

Chapter 11 : Adult and non-formal education

Into the unknown

In the last two chapters we have examined ways of providing formal education in the special circumstances of refugee communities. Primary education, teacher training and secondary education are well defined activities; in some countries experimental methods of providing them have been tried alongside the more traditional patterns; as we have seen, attempts have been made in several communities to offer similar educational opportunities to refugees. These facts do not apply to adult and non-formal education: it is ill defined everywhere; what happens in one country does not necessarily happen in another; and very little has happened anywhere, as far as we can see, among refugees. And yet in many of the communities we have studied, as in the Sudan, Somalia, Mexico and Swaziland, the vast majority of the refugees who are not of primary-school age are adults who have had little or no formal education.

These are the people for whom there is no prospect of scholarships for training or more prosperous settlement elsewhere. And without education their prospects of getting a reasonably paid job, perhaps even of earning a living in the countries where they are now, are very bleak. Yet the welfare of their communities - and in particular of their families - depends and will continue to depend almost entirely on them. They need skills which will directly improve their and their dependants' conditions of life, yet their lack of literacy, their language problems, and the almost total lack of extension or adult education services for refugees, deprive them of access even to the normal forms of adult education. At the same time, as the agencies working with refugees are increasingly realising, an improvement of their social and vocational skills, and of their ability to be self-sufficient could make a greater impact on the living conditions in refugee communities than any other form of education.

Existing activities

In several communities - in the eastern Sudan, in Somalia, in Kenya and among Namibians in Angola and Zambia - we have been told of self-help literacy programmes, in which untrained refugees are trying to teach their illiterate fellows to read and write, usually without supervision, and almost always without adequate teaching materials. In Dukwe in Botswana, in Ndzevane in Swaziland and in Costa Rica, a few refugees are learning craft skills in small self-help projects. And in many camps, volunteer health workers in emergency clinics try to combine health education with their immense workloads of medical care and treatment. Only in Somalia have we come across large-scale plans for non-formal education, in health, hygiene and family life; but even here there are no resources to implement the plans immediately, except on a very small scale compared to the size of the population.

Proposals for action

The most obvious problem for all these projects is their inability to extend the educational component to more than a very small number of people, largely because they lack trained personnel or an adequate communication system. The most important objective of any proposal, therefore, must be to find ways of extending such projects, cheaply but effectively, to a much larger number of people. Two proposals are described, to show how this could be done. Neither has yet begun to be implemented. The first, for Somalia, is designed to facilitate the non-

formal education plans for refugees which have already been referred to, based on the Somali government's assessment of adult education priorities. The second, for the Sudan, has grown out of the survey which was carried out for our Sudan case study, which coincided with an educational needs assessment survey undertaken for the Sudan government.

In the Somalia case study we reported on two non-formal education projects which have started. Both the health education proposal and the family-life education proposal have as their basis the training, through short residential courses, of large numbers of refugee extension personnel in the rudiments of these two subjects. After such short training, it is assumed the extension personnel will be able to pass on what they have learned to their fellow refugees. The subject matter for the former is primary health care principles, basic hygiene, and disease prevention; for the latter it consists of literacy, dressmaking, tailoring, nutrition, health and hygiene and handicrafts. The people to be recruited as extension personnel for these vital tasks are the comparatively few literate women refugees in the camps. A start has been made on both programmes by conventional training for a small number of potential extension officers, but the government recognised from the start that two major obstacles would prevent large-scale implementation. First it would take a very long time to provide training through short residential programmes for the thousands of officers needed; secondly, the low level of formal education of these trainees would limit their ability to communicate what they learned effectively and correctly without carefully designed teaching materials and teaching instructions.

A proposal was therefore drawn up - though the funds have not been raised to implement it - to provide initial and in-service training through distance-teaching materials linked with occasional face-to-face supervision, and to accompany the training with supplies of teaching materials, lesson-plans, illustrations, practical exercise kits and packages. The system proposed is very similar in its methodology to the in-service teacher training programme which has already been implemented, as described earlier, and is intended to be closely linked to that project and to the institution which runs it. The plan was for both the training of the extension officers and their subsequent support to be implemented by distributing simple self-instructional print materials, and radio or audio-cassette programmes, to be used in supervised study groups.

The non-formal element of the proposal for the Sudan is as yet less clearly defined. This is because no large-scale centralised plans for such activities exist so far. However, the basic approach is the same as in Somalia, although the programme would be implemented in conjunction with the variety of voluntary agencies to which the Sudan government has delegated responsibility for health care and community development. It would also be based on the development of simple printed self-study training materials, to be studied and used in study groups by refugee volunteer group-leaders/extension workers, under the guidance of the voluntary agencies' qualified and specialist personnel. The training materials for the group leaders would be closely linked to the teaching support materials they would use in their groups, and, where necessary, with practical activities kits and instructions on how to use them. At the time of writing this report it finally seems likely that the plan for the Sudan will soon be implemented, through the creation of a specialist distance-teaching unit operating in both formal and non-formal education.

Conclusions

It is impossible to draw conclusions about the implementation of adult non-formal education from experience, as the proposals reported have not yet been implemented. The only conclusion that can be based on experience is that there is a need for such programmes as a means of increasing the coverage of those small-scale projects which exist.

It is nevertheless worth making a few generalisations about the proposals, based on information about non-formal education needs and facilities gleaned from the case studies. First such programmes will inevitably rely on untrained, usually not very highly educated, refugee personnel, who cannot be expected to act as fully trained self-reliant extension or adult education officers. Secondly, therefore, a system of supported study groups seems the only feasible method of working, given the high level of illiteracy amongst the potential learners. Thirdly, group-leader training in study group methods and in the use of the materials provided is an essential element. Fourthly, the subjects for which the method is needed and ought to be effective are health and hygiene, nutrition, child and family-care, craftwork and basic agriculture, community and co-operative organisation and literacy and language teaching - both in the refugees' native languages and in the languages of their countries of asylum. Fifthly, the kinds of proposals elaborated both for the Sudan and Somalia seem relevant, in an adapted form, for other refugee communities such as in south-east Mexico, Angola and Zambia, or even the mixed community in Kenya. Finally, such programmes will need to draw heavily on existing adult education networks and materials, as in Kenya or Somalia, but will often be able to reciprocate by offering their own services to the local national communities as well as to refugees.

Chapter 12 : Vocational training and income generation

A felt need

The clearest message of all the case studies, in fact from our whole feasibility study, is that most refugees themselves see education primarily as a means of improving their or their children's chances to get jobs and to earn incomes, so that they can provide themselves with something more than the bare necessities for survival. The link between learning and earning is believed to be very strong. In the Sudan survey, for example, more than 60% of those interviewed wanted job-training, quoting agriculture, dressmaking, craftwork and motor mechanics as their preferences. In Botswana more than 90% of the interviewees expressed an interest in practical job-training, their preferences varying realistically, according to their previous education, from craft-skills and agriculture to skilled technical trades and professional training. Similarly, in Costa Rica, 63% of those interviewed wanted vocational studies, and their preferences were spread fairly evenly between technical or mechanical subjects, agriculture, nursing or cookery, according to their educational background, family status and whether they came originally from a rural or urban home. In Mexico City, where the educational background of most refugees is significantly higher than elsewhere, 75% said they wanted further vocational training and most of these expressed an interest in advanced technical or professional training. In south-east Mexico, on the other hand, the vast majority of those surveyed said they were interested in learning more about their traditional vocations of agriculture, or traditional craftwork.

Any learning provided must therefore establish this link if motivation is to be maintained. Yet our surveys suggest that the numbers of refugees for whom vocational education is currently available are minimal, not because of a lack of recognition of the problem, but because of difficulties in finding effective ways of overcoming it. For vocational training is perhaps the least successful sector of educational development in most third world countries.

Two levels of training

It is clear from these surveys that for refugees, as for others, there are two kinds of vocational training required. The first need, for which as we saw in the previous chapter, the numbers are greatest, is basic training in agriculture, craftwork, and mechanical trades for adults with very little formal education at all. Such skill-training must be part of a more general programme of adult non-formal education, including functional literacy and must relate directly to the vocational activities which the potential students are already undertaking or could take up immediately if they had the skills to do so. The training must be designed to fit the context of each different community and the educational and linguistic background of its inhabitants. And the methods of training will inevitably rely very heavily on demonstration and practical experience. We have encountered a few examples of productive schemes in the surveys, for example agriculture, dressmaking and joinery in Botswana, agricultural schemes in Mexico, Costa Rica, Angola and Zambia, weaving, woodwork and motor-mechanics projects in the Sudan and self-help craftwork projects in Costa Rica, Mexico City and Somalia. However, although these are usually successful, they all operate on a very small scale and the numbers of people involved are very small. The challenge is to find educational methods which combine the successful features of such schemes with an ability to reach out to much greater numbers.

The second level of vocational traianing with which we are concerned in this report* is for adults, including young adults, who have completed primary education and are therefore literate and numerate, of whom a significant minority have had some secondary education. Such training often needs to be linked with secondary-level academic courses in such relevant subjects as language, maths, science and technology, and should therefore form an essential part of the secondary training discussed in Chapter 10 above. While it must be closely geared to practical training and skills acquisition, it also calls for a greater element of theoretical knowledge than is required for vocational training. A requirement stated clearly in the Botswana case study applies generally at this level of vocational training: courses should not only train students in the various skills, but should also prepare them for the trade tests which would qualify them for employment in the country of asylum. The subjects which are in demand at this level include motor mechanics, electrical skills, refrigeration, secretarial skills - such as typing, shorthand and office practices - and commercial skills - such as accountancy, bookkeeping and business administration. Such training needs to be available both on a part-time basis for the fortunate adults who have jobs or other activities which take up much of their time, and on a nearly full-time basis, for younger adults, in combination with other secondary-level education and with practical training intended to generate income.

Existing schemes and plans

As we have stated, there are many small self-help income-generating projects in the communities we have studied, mostly at basic or subsistence level, such as agricultural, horticultural and craftwork production schemes, most of which include an informal apprenticeship training element.

We have come across very little evidence of the use of distance-teaching or study group methods for basic vocational or craftwork training amongst refugees. There is, however, a functional literacy project linked to craftwork and self-reliance schemes amongst Kampuchean refugees in Thailand, run by an Irish voluntary agency, Concern. They have based their project on a model developed by the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee, in which a carefully designed package of functional literacy materials has been used by trained local facilitators for literacy teaching, awareness creation and motivation, and craft-skill development. Apart from this example, we base our belief that such schemes can be successful on the success of distance-teaching and group study schemes for agricultural training for peasant farmers run by INADES (Institut Africain pour le Developpement Economique et Social) in the Ivory Coast, and for the basic mechanical trade training for apprentices offered by INCE (Instituto Nacional de Co-operacion Educativa) in Venezuela.**

---

* A third educational level is that of post-secondary students, as represented by a very small proportion of refugees in Botswana, or of the Namibian refugees, and by a large number of refugees in Mexico City. We assume that advanced university or college training will normally have to be provided in existing institutions, either in the host country or abroad, and that scholarships are usually available to those qualified for it.

** More details of these programmes can be found in Dodds, Multi-media approaches to rural education, IEC, Cambridge, 1972 and Fakes, Technical education at a distance, IEC, Cambridge 1973.

There are also a few more elaborate vocational training schemes, as in the Sudan and Angola, where students with basic education are trained in artisan trades. And in the refugee communities in Botswana, Kenya, Angola and Zambia, a few people with appropriate educational qualifications are selected and sent for vocational training, either in national institutions in their host country or overseas, for example, to Cyprus. But all of these, as we have seen, cater for very small numbers, and are isolated schemes, usually incidental to any more general educational provision.

By comparison with these piecemeal schemes, there has recently been a systematic attempt in the Sudan to examine the related problems of self-reliance, employment and vocational training among refugees, and to devise a large-scale comprehensive master plan. At the end of 1981 a joint UNHCR/ILO/Sudan government team examined the problems and prospects of income-generating activities for refugees there. The rationale was a recognition that the refugees were likely to be long-term settlers in the Sudan, whose problems could not be solved by emergency relief services. It was essential that they be helped to become economically self-reliant and that the development of such self-reliance be planned in a way which would help to develop the regions where they are settled, and would integrate the development of refugee schemes with such regional development. The major recommendations of the report are: that very careful studies are needed of the Sudanese labour market and of skills and potential skills among refugees; that a system of information exchange about employment opportunities be established for refugees; that funds be made available to assist refugees in all settlements to set up small-scale community-based self-help projects, aimed primarily at the settlements' own production and employment needs; that a series of large-scale income-generating schemes be established on a co-operative basis, such as poultry and vegetable production, leather goods, weaving and soap-making; that organised systematic training and upgrading in the required skills for all these approaches should form an integral part of the plan, with the necessary facilities and personnel made available through international assistance; and that such training schemes should be available to local Sudanese inhabitants as well as to the refugees. It appears that in principle these proposals have been accepted by both the Sudan Government and the UNHCR, though discussions are still in progress about which agencies, funds and methods are to be used to implement them.

At the same time as this survey of income-generating schemes was being carried out, as we have seen, plans were being drawn up and approved for the creation of a specialist distance-education unit in the Sudan, primarily for refugees. We have referred in previous chapters to its proposed programmes of secondary education and adult non-formal education. The third, and perhaps most innovative, part of its programme is to assist in the provision of vocational training at both the levels we defined earlier. Such training, it is proposed, should be linked to schemes such as those included in the UNHCR/ILO report, and therefore tied in with training workshops and production schemes run within the settlements by agencies already concerned. In this way the training would be closely linked to practical skill development and implementation. Existing Sudanese vocational training centres and workshops, as well as the mobile training units proposed by the UNHCR/ILO report, would provide the facilities around which such practical training would be organised; the distance-teaching unit's job would be to design, produce and distribute self-study and group-study training materials for use by the students and by local training supervisors and demonstrators, to train supervisors and group leaders or facilitators, and to assist in the organisation of study-groups in the settlements linked to the self-help and income-generating

production schemes. In the first instance, it has been suggested, the unit's efforts would be concentrated on the most widely needed and least technical skills, such as bookkeeping, marketing, and co-operative and business management. It would increasingly become involved in the propagation through distance-teaching methods of the most common practical and technical skills.

Conclusions for replication

This chapter has picked out one large-scale vocational training and income-generating scheme, because we know of no other community where such a scheme exists, even at the preliminary planning stage. We cannot draw firm conclusions from one project, particularly one which has not yet been implemented. However, the need for schemes in all the communities we have looked at is so strong that any indications about how to set up similar experiments are better than nothing. We therefore list seven main conclusions from the Sudan proposals in the light of the different case studies.

First, it is necessary to increase the number of opportunities for vocational skill training by providing specialist and trained vocational instructors attached to either fixed or mobile training centres. This can be done by supplementing their work with self-study training manuals and by group study, thus allowing these instructors to spread their services more widely, even if more thinly, and to use untrained but skilled supervisors who base their training and supervision on manuals and on linked supervisor guides.

Secondly, it is essential that such training be linked directly to actual production and income-earning schemes or to employment opportunities, which in turn, therefore, must be closely based on surveys of the local labour market and of the market amongst refugees and their neighbours for the skills and products that such schemes would produce.

Thirdly, therefore, training and production need to run in parallel, so that the benefits to the local communities, and the improved earning power for the refugee trainees become immediately apparent.

Fourthly, such plans must include training and production schemes both for the large number of refugees with little or no formal education - the UNHCR/ILO report's 'self-help schemes' are probably aimed mainly at this category - and for the smaller numbers who have completed primary education.

Fifthly, the training provision linked to such a plan should include opportunities for refugees to learn a variety of vocational skills, not directly or exclusively linked to immediate production, but providing for longer-term employment and self-development ambitions.

Sixthly, management, accounting and marketing skills are an important component of nearly all such projects.

Finally, it is, as always, important that such schemes should on the one hand make use of existing local facilities, and on the other hand offer any training opportunities they develop to nationals of the host community as well as to refugees.

PART IV - Proposals for action

Chapter 13 : A new initiative proposed

We pointed out, in the introductory section of this report, that education has not in the past been a priority either of host governments or of international agencies providing services for refugees. Food, shelter and medical care have been the essential elements of emergency refugee relief. There seems, however, to be a growing recognition that, as the world's refugee population continues to grow, many of the emergencies are the beginnings of long-term problems. The distribution of tents, blankets and food, or the organisation of vaccination campaigns or emergency hospitals, although they are essential immediately, are only temporary solutions. Where voluntary repatriation is unlikely, integration into a host society and the pursuit of self-sufficiency are the best alternative. Both these processes almost always require that refugees learn new skills, and make changes in their attitudes and ways of life. So agencies that work with refugees have begun to recognise that education is a vital part of the refugee's survival kit, and that it must be provided in the early stages of any relief programme.

There are, moreover, two clear and dominant demands from the refugees themselves in the case studies in Part II. Those we interviewed almost unanimously expressed a need for many more educational opportunities than they have at present. And they want education which first and foremost helps them to improve their conditions of life, mainly by helping them to earn a better living than they can at present. It is in response to these priorities, as recognised by refugees and by relief agencies, that we end this report with a set of proposals.

We set out to make the feasibility study into action research. During the two-and-a-half years of the study we have been as much involved in action - trying to create or support educational projects among refugees - as in purely scientific research. We have provided the advice, training and support which has enabled the Namibian Extension Unit to come into operation with nearly 2,000 students. We are about to establish an Extension Unit in the Sudan to put into practice the proposals that have emerged from a needs assessment survey and from discussions with agencies working with refugees there. We have also been asked to provide advice and courses, on a much smaller scale, for refugees in Botswana. We believe that these examples, and other requests from refugee communities listed in the last section of this chapter, show that this work needs to be consolidated and expanded. The proposals which follow suggest how the ability to offer wider services can be developed from the experience and resources put together to service existing or planned projects.

This feasibility study, and activities related to it, have turned out to be much more difficult to organise than IEC expected, and have occupied a major part of our time and energies. In order to continue to provide the kinds of services which have enabled the Namibian Extension Unit and the Sudan Extension Unit to start teaching, IEC needs finance specifically for the capacity to do such work. This is why the proposal for a World Refugee College is being put forward.

A WORLD REFUGEE COLLEGE

Our case studies, as well as the growing literature on refugees, show that there are many agencies, local and international, government and non-government, working with refugees in different parts of the world. In the

past few have been concerned with education, and the specialist agencies which have been so concerned have concentrated on finding places and scholarships for refugees at schools and colleges.

As we have seen, the World University Service and the Lutheran World Federation have both, in conjunction with the UNHCR, been active in funding and providing such educational opportunities in many parts of the world. Their success as scholarship agencies or as providers of educational facilities has shown how great is the demand and has led them all to look for and explore new ways of providing support. We are convinced from these studies that this work should be expanded and that to do so new and experimental approaches should be tried.

Our proposals, therefore, are for a new educational service which would work with existing agencies and supplement their provision with such experimental approaches. This would create a wider network of educational opportunities for refugees than at present exists. Such a service must be able to respond quickly to new emergencies, to diagnose what kind of education is needed, and to plan, establish and support programmes to meet these needs. It must be able to assist at any level, and with most kinds of education, both traditional and experimental or unconventional. And it must concern itself with the outcome as well as with the process of education. To make such a service continuously and widely available requires an international agency mainly concerned with its provision, working, wherever possible, through existing organisations. We therefore propose to develop a World Refugee College, in response to the requests we have received, building on the contacts we have made and the services we have begun to provide on a small and ad hoc basis during the period of this feasibility study.

Preliminary contacts suggest that, at least to begin with, the new service should be set up as a unit of the International Extension College, though we do not rule out the possibility that it might later assume independent status. As the IEC's particular strengths are in distance teaching it is essential that this new unit has a separate governing body which reflects both the expertise of other organisations concerned with the education and welfare of refugees and the professional experience of educational development more generally.

Much of the new College's work would initially be concentrated among refugees in Africa, both because the majority of the most educationally deprived refugees are to be found there, and because IEC's experience is greatest in Africa. But it would also be able to follow up work elsewhere arising from this report, and would hope, as early as possible, to develop initiatives outside Africa.

The World Refugee College, as a unit of the IEC, would work under English charity law and would be non-political in character; the intention is that, in the long run, its services would be available to all refugees from whatever country, whatever the cause of their exile.

THE FUNCTIONS OF THE WORLD REFUGEE COLLEGE

The WRC would have six main functions, which relate both to emergency help for refugees and to longer term planning. These functions are the maintenance of an emergency committee, the immediate diagnosis of educational needs, the creation and running of experimental projects, the provision of advice and support, the design and development of educational materials, and the raising of funds. We look at each of these in turn.

1. An emergency committee

The first job of the new service would be to ensure that there is a rapid and co-ordinated response to the educational needs created by each new refugee crisis. This it would do by maintaining a standing Refugee Education Emergency Committee of specialists from different countries who could be called together at short notice to co-ordinate emergency action, to mobilise public opinion and to identify funds, agencies and personnel which could be used. Such a committee would make sure that the need for education, both formal and non-formal, was taken into account in the local and international response to each crisis. It would identify the kinds of education which would make an immediate contribution to improving the living conditions of the victims of the crisis. It would activate the resources immediately available and would mobilise those agencies whose funds, personnel or skills could be used to meet each set of educational needs. And it would initiate the process of raising funds for education. Had such a service been available in 1976, for example, the Soweto student refugees in Botswana and Swaziland might not have had to wait two years or more before they could continue their studies. Or in Somalia, as thousands of women and children refugees flooded in during 1979 and 1980, emergency schools and adult education services could have been set up much more quickly. The effects on health and on the construction of shelter and settlements, as well as on morale, could have been dramatic.

2. Diagnostic research and project planning

One of the first steps which the emergency committee would take in each new crisis would be to set up a survey of educational needs and of ways to meet them. Such surveys would examine the educational needs and ambitions expressed by the refugees and by agencies set up to administer them, in addition to local resources and facilities, and would assess the extent to which these should be supplemented from outside. They would also examine the possibility of meeting them through traditional methods of education, and the extent to which unusual and experimental channels were required. The emergency committee would identify people who could carry out these diagnostic surveys, on the basis of their knowledge of the host country, of the refugees, and of education. It would draw on an international panel of associates to carry them out, using wherever possible refugees and people from the region where the crisis occurred. It would also draw on personnel from existing international agencies such as UNHCR, Unesco, UNICEF and WUS. The IEC's links with the Department of Education in Developing Countries of the University of London Institute of Education would be of particular value in this respect.

The purpose of the diagnostic surveys would be to draw up plans to meet the educational needs they identified. Such plans would be passed on to the host governments and to local and international agencies involved, for implementation of whatever services they could provide. Where the studies showed that the usual methods of integrating refugees into local schools or finding scholarships for them to study elsewhere were appropriate, the WRC's sole function would be to pass information on to existing agencies. Its task would be to identify educational needs that could not be met in this way. We have found, when conducting case-study surveys, that both the refugees themselves and the agencies administering their settlements such surveys as a useful way of diagnosing educational needs. In several cases (in Botswana, and among the Namibians in Zambia, for example) the case studies have led to new plans and new approaches. In the Sudan the diagnostic survey was undertaken in response to the first request put to us by the Sudan government and the detailed proposals for the Sudan

Extension Unit have been based on it. But these studies were carried out some time after the settlements had been established. It would be the WRC's job to ensure that such delays are avoided in future. It would also attempt to organise diagnostic studies in longstanding refugee communities where educational services are meagre and may have grown up in a haphazard fashion.

3. Experimental projects

These first two functions would relate to all kinds of education. In some cases the emergency plans would call for new and experimental action research projects, some of which would be for the immediate creation of new schools or new extension services or even new scholarship programmes. Usually the job of the WRC would be to pass such projects over to existing agencies (including, wherever possible, local educational institutions) for implementation. Our study shows, however, that in many refugee communities the traditional methods of providing education, through schools and scholarships, are inadequate. The latter are highly selective and cater for only a tiny proportion of the total refugee population. They often have the effect, moreover, of depriving the communities of their most able and qualified members. The Namibian Extension Unit and the proposed Sudan Extension Unit demonstrate how experimental projects can help to overcome these problems.

Schools are the only effective way of providing for primary-school-age children. But in many cases the numbers, and sometimes the language, make it impossible for the host society to absorb all refugee children into their own primary schools. When that is so crash programmes, as in Somalia, or supplementary programmes of primary schooling, as in the Sudan, are needed. These in turn require projects to train, equip and support refugee trainee teachers. The Somali project and the much older UNRWA/Unesco Palestinian project show that distance-teaching experiments can meet this need. The WRC would set up primary-school teacher training and school support programmes along the lines of the Somalia project wherever these were needed.

Secondary schools are less easy to improvise and much more expensive to build and secondary-school teachers are less easy to find and train. Sometimes the numbers needing secondary education are small; but the resources of the host countries at this level are often even smaller and the demand from their own people for the places they can create too great for more than a handful to be offered to refugee students. On the other hand there is more regional, and even international, homogeneity of secondary-level syllabuses and examinations, so correspondence courses can often be used to fill the gap, with support and supervision. The WRC would help agencies to develop schemes of supervised study groups using secondary correspondence courses, as in Botswana and the Namibian Extension Unit.

The two greatest demands, and those most difficult to meet, are for vocational education linking learning to earning, and for non-formal education, which can help adult refugees to cope with and improve the often appalling conditions in which they are living. It would be a special concern of the WRC to set up experimental projects to explore ways of meeting these needs. In the case of vocational education it would try to establish experimental projects where they were asked for, to develop vocational training materials for self-study or group study as part of small-scale self-employment or co-operative production schemes. Such schemes must be closely linked to locally marketable skills or trades; the

training element would include technical, management and marketing skills, and, wherever possible, they would be developed for refugees who already had some basic knowledge and experience of those skills. In non-formal education the WRC would attempt to set up projects in co-operation with health workers, or family-care workers, using distance-teaching materials to help them to extend their impact and their services. The case studies we have carried out suggest that there is a demand for both kinds of experiments, for example, in the Sudan, in Mexico, and among Namibian exiles in Angola and Zambia.

4. Information, advice and materials exchange and supply service

In carrying out this feasibility study a major problem has been to obtain detailed information about educational projects in refugee communities. Yet most of the communities could improve their own educational services if they could draw on the experience of other such communities. There is also a wide range of educational experiments in non-refugee communities whose geographical conditions and social circumstances make their experience relevant to refugees. It is not easy to find and share knowledge of such experience. We have come across several examples of non-educational agencies which have reached similar conclusions to our own about the potential of distance-teaching materials and methods for refugees. Because they were unaware of what exists, however, they have purchased inappropriate courses for their students, sometimes from disreputable commercial organisations, when more suitable materials were available. Many other agencies, especially the small non-government organisations, who are implementing relief projects in individual settlements, would be willing and able to include an educational element in their work if they had the materials to do so. What is needed for all of these is a source of information, advice and, where appropriate, courses. The small-scale supply by the IEC of appropriate courses to the ERC in Dukwe, Botswana, and to the IRC in the Sudan are examples of how this service would work.

We have already started to collect information about educational projects and courses and about their cost and availability. We have so far concentrated on two groups of subjects and on materials produced in English, but it would be an immediate task for an expanded WRC to widen this search to other subjects, levels and languages.

The first group of subjects comprises those offered for secondary-level examinations. Here we have located a large number of courses from public institutions in many different African countries, which the institutions would make available to refugee agencies at a cost to cover only their own printing and administrative costs. Such courses include most arts and social studies subjects and mathematics, from Form II through to Form V level, although there is a serious lack of science and technical subjects. We believe that, in most of the subjects covered, reasonably good courses can be obtained for the groups of refugees whom we have met.

The second group consists of vocational subjects at post-primary level. We have looked at agricultural, commercial (e.g. typing, shorthand, bookkeeping), technical (e.g. woodwork, motor mechanics, electricity) and administration courses. Very few such courses currently exist in Africa. We have therefore collected samples from America, Australia, New Zealand and Britain. They exist in abundance. In most cases, however, they are not appropriate as they stand, either for cultural or linguistic reasons or because of their educational level. But they open up important possibilities. In some cases they can be adapted. In others

they can be used as a starting point for writers producing a new course to meet local needs. Public institutions in such countries are generally willing to make their courses available for refugees cheaply, either in bulk, or for reproduction or adaptation. We are convinced that to turn these ad hoc beginnings into a systematic information and supply service would be of immense value to many communities such as those we have studied.

An important permanent function of the WRC would be to collect and supply such information among as many refugee communities and agencies as we can reach. The information would cover all kinds of education and would serve as a vital resource for the diagnostic studies described earlier. Many of the services which we expect these diagnostic studies to identify could be implemented through the use of distance-teaching materials by the agencies, including refugee organisations themselves. To make this possible the WRC would supply them with information about what courses and materials are available, and advise on their use. Even for some of the more radical experiments referred to in the previous section, the main outside assistance needed, apart from funds, would be advice and training. The WRC would therefore provide four main services under this heading:

1. information for refugee agencies about educational projects among refugees;

2. advice, information and assistance on the development of distance-teaching activities in any community and on the feasibility and implications of producing its own materials;

3. information about existing distance-teaching materials anywhere in the world, their relevance to particular situations, their availability and adaptability, and advice about how they can be used;

4. a procurement service, so that any refugee agency could obtain, through WRC, courses relevant to its own service.

5. Materials design and development services

Most of the work of the WRC would consist of advising agencies and communities on how to set up their own educational projects and how to develop the distance-teaching materials for those projects, or informing them about existing materials which match their requirements and helping them to obtain them. But in the course of our feasibility study we discovered that there are certain needs in common to several different communities for which no suitable distance-teaching materials exist. In several cases the cost of producing such materials from scratch in each separate community would be high, and they are not a priority for large enough numbers to justify such expenditure. Three examples stand out: basic language courses, such as English and Arabic, where no self-study courses exist suitable for students with very little basic education; study-skills courses for students who have not yet reached an age or a stage of schooling when they are academically self-sufficient but who now find themselves having to study without teachers, either alone or in groups; post-primary vocational skill and craft courses. The WRC would explore the possibility of developing and producing a range of courses in subjects on a modular basis, which could be adapted for use in the conditions prevailing among refugees in different communities.

6. Finance

The biggest problem in our attempts to set up pilot projects linked to this study has been to find funds for rapid project development in response to recognised educational needs. We have encountered such problems partly because many funding agencies which normally support educational experimentation find it difficult to make grants outside a government-to-government negotiating structure, whereas host governments are sometimes loath to include refugee education projects in their own list of aid priorities. Voluntary aid agencies accustomed to giving funds to refugees are often deterred by the size of the sums needed to initiate distance-teaching projects. In practice the numbers which can be reached in this way are much larger than in conventional education, and the eventual economies can be significant, although the initial capital outlay is relatively large. This means that some capital is needed before you can begin distance teaching. But many agencies prefer to support small numbers of students as a start, and are reluctant to invest until a project is already in operation. The WRC would therefore have to raise money specifically to start such projects, or at least have access to funds to do so. It would have to liaise closely and continuously with sympathetic funding agencies, so that suitable projects could be submitted quickly to agencies likely to support them, assessed and, where accepted, launched with the support of funds already earmarked for such activities. Thus an early job for WRC would be to argue the general case for refugee education, along the lines discussed in this report, with donor agencies. The long-term aim would be to have funds earmarked or committed, at least for emergency educational work, in advance of the identification of specific refugee projects. The WRC would not itself be seeking these funds, or have control of them: its aim would be to ensure that funds were there so that educational projects could be launched more rapidly.

It would also explore ways of raising seed-money to establish projects on a pilot basis, in order to increase their chances of attracting additional finance. One way of doing so would be to build up by capital contributions from funding agencies and through direct fund-raising activities a revolving fund to be used for emergency programmes and replenished as required. Another method might, as suggested above, be through funds earmarked by fund-raising agencies for refugee education programmes and held in trust for schemes emerging from the Emergency Committee's deliberations and the plans which result from the diagnostic studies.

HOW WILL IT ALL WORK?

We started out to survey the educational needs of refugees and to explore the feasibility of using distance-teaching techniques to meet these needs. We are more convinced at the end of the study than when we started that distance teaching has several roles to play, in providing a more comprehensive and relevant network of education for refugees than currently exists. But we have also reached the conclusion that much more is needed than a distance-teaching service. The functions of the World Refugee College we have described would, we hope, help to meet these needs. We believe that they can and should be carried out without the creation of a huge new agency. The World Refugee College would try to put into practice one of the major lessons of distance teaching - that by capitalising on existing resources and personnel it is possible to benefit large numbers of people over very wide areas economically. It would have a small permanent full-time staff and draw heavily on the materials, personnel, experience and goodwill of a large number of people and institutions on a part-time and ad hoc basis. Though we propose that its

central office would be in Britain, the operation of the WRC, the experience it would draw on, and the machinery for guiding its policies would be international. To this end we propose that it should have four levels of organisation.

A central office in Britain

This would probably consist of no more than the equivalent of three or four full-time workers, at least to start with - a director, research, information and resources staff and an office manager. Its jobs would be to co-ordinate the College's work, to service its committees, to collect and distribute information and materials and to recruit and service part-time consultants. It would work very closely with IEC's staff and resource and information services, integrating with them where possible but building up a specialist collection and resources for refugees as required.

The Refugee Education Emergency Committee

We have described what this would do on page 87. It would consist of people with experience of working with refugees and of educators representing a broad range of levels and approaches. The committee would meet only when refugee emergencies occured and as long as each crisis required emergency action. Its very nature implies that it must be able to be convened at very short notice. At the same time its membership must be international in order to ensure the widest possible contacts and support and to avail itself of the most expert opinions. It is also of vital importance for it to be able to co-opt representatives both of the host government and the refugees concerned in each new crisis. Sometimes this would necessitate the specialists meeting together; as much as possible, however, it would try to use such alternative methods as an international telephone conference network, in order to save time and money.

An international panel of consultants

Most of the work of the WRC would be carried out ad hoc by specialist consultants recruited for the diagnostic studies, specialist advice or local project assistance. They would mainly be educators who have worked with refugees or in the countries where the refugees live or originate. Wherever possible they would be drawn from the region where the work was to be carried out, and would include representatives of the host society. The central office of the WRC would maintain a register of such consultants, associated with the College on a voluntary basis (though naturally they would be paid for all major consultancies) and ready to be called to do specific work as required.

An international board of trustees

This would be set up to oversee the work of the WRC and to ensure that it reflected international humanitarian priorities as they relate to refugees. It would consist of educators and others from both the developed and the less developed world. The reputations of the trustees would help the WRC to establish links with national and international agencies working with refugees, with funding bodies and with the international public.

IMMEDIATE TASKS

Several of the case-studies and contacts made during the feasibility

survey have resulted in requests for immediate assistance in the development of educational projects for refugees. The WRC would take such requests over from the IEC, and would treat them as its immediate priorities, both for fund-raising and for the allocation of time and resources. These priorities include:

The establishment of the Sudan Extension Unit

The programmes proposed for the WRC Unit in the Sudan are described in Part III of the report. We have now begun to receive pledges of funds from various non-government and international agencies for the Unit. The refugee administration of the Sudan government and voluntary and refugee agencies in the Sudan have stressed the urgency of such programmes. We intend, as soon as financial pledges are formalised and the money is available, to recruit staff to start the Unit and hope that some courses will be in operation within six months of its establishment. The speed with which the Unit will be able to start work and the variety of courses it will be able to offer will be greatly increased if the WRC is able to develop within that period and can therefore offer support and assistance.

Expanding the programme of the Namibian Extension Unit

The IEC is already committed and financed for support services to the NEU for a further year from mid-1983. Its plans for expansion into vocational skill training and non-formal education, and tentative proposals for the addition of teacher training programmes, will require increased support over a longer period. In the light of its close association with the NEU so far, the IEC would wish to be in a position to provide such support through the WRC, as proposed.

A distance-teaching programme for South African refugees

It now seems probable that the IEC will be approached by the Commonwealth Secretariat to help to draw up plans to establish and support a programme of distance education for South African refugees in east and central Africa. The detailed plans have not yet been drawn up. However, the principles around which discussions are expected to be based are: that the programme should be based on an existing distance-teaching institution in the region; that its courses should be designed for the needs of South Africans in exile in Africa; that they should be available to South African refugees regardless of their political affiliations; and that they should eventually be available to such refugees wherever they are based. Any existing distance-teaching institution may require outside assistance and support to develop programmes to meet these needs. The IEC through the WRC would wish to be able to provide such support.

Further developments for the Somali Institute of In-Service Teacher Training

The IITT in Somalia, described in Chapter 5, has so far concentrated exclusively on basic teacher training skills. it now plans to develop secondary-level subject upgrading courses for its teachers and the Somali government also has longer-term plans for it to undertake non-formal education for refugees. For both these tasks the IITT has expressed a wish to draw on the services of the IEC, through the WRC, to develop new programmes and new approaches. The IEC will be able to provide such assistance only if these proposals for the WRC are realised. The expansion of the IITT's services in these two ways would be of major

importance for the second largest concentration of refugees in the world.

Plans for a programme of education for refugees in Mexico

WUS Costa Rica, which carried out the case studies for IEC in central America, was at the same time exploring the reactions of refugees, and of agencies working with them, to the possibility of developing new educational programmes. They reported that many agencies, especially in Mexico, were keen to co-operate in such an initiative, as were the refugee organisations themselves. The IEC/WRC would wish to follow up these initial contacts as soon as possible, with the intention of confirming its feasibility and drawing up detailed plans to implement a pilot project, probably in Mexico.

Setting up the central office

If the IEC is to be able to respond positively to the requests for assistance from these five projects, we need as soon as possible to set up a small, but full-time, central office to follow them up and to organise the assistance required. Additional requests for small-scale as well as for longer-term services would result from any systematic attempt to publicise the WRC's existence. Full-time staff are needed to do this, and to seek out and to satisfy such requests.

We therefore propose to take the following steps:

1. To seek funds and support from international agencies to set up a small central office and to enable it to respond to existing requests for services, to publicise its activities and to prepare to meet future requests.

2. To appoint staff to run the central office and to draw on the services, staff and facilities of the IEC.

3. To identify members for and to set up a Refugee Education Emergency Committee and a Board of Trustees for the WRC.

4. To set up and support the Sudan Extension Unit, to provide support for the expansion of the Somali IITT and the Namibian Extension Unit, and to explore the feasibility of new projects for South African and central American refugees.

5. To broaden and intensify the search for and collection of educational materials which can be used or adapted for use by refugees.

6. To set up a system of information and materials exchange and supply.

7. To set up a panel of voluntary associates from many different countries, qualified and willing to participate in diagnostic and advisory studies for the WRC.

8. To organise pilot experiments, in association with the Namibian Extension Unit, the Sudan Extension Unit, or other such agencies, in vocational training linked to self-sufficiency production activities.

9. To explore the need for specialist course materials which can be produced on a co-operative basis for different refugee communities, to identify priorities and to produce pilot courses.

10. To liaise with funding agencies prepared to contribute to refugee education projects and to identify sources for a revolving fund, or for earmarked funds-in-trust for the rapid financing of new projects.

Appendix : Interview samples

In the surveys on which we based our case studies, attempts were made to select the samples in a way which was representative of the varying characteristics of the refugees in those regions, such as ethnic origin and social background (e.g. rural:urban; male:female). In no case was it possible to carry out rigorous sampling.

The number of interviewees in each survey, the approximate numbers in the camps or areas from which they were drawn, and the total refugee population in these regions are given below.

	Sample	Settlement/Area Total	Regional/National Total
Sudan	586	420 000	500 000
Kenya	51	3 500	3 900
Namibians in Zambia	100	2 000	42 000*
Swaziland	21	500	7 000
Botswana	59	600	1 300
Mexico City	162	15 000)	160 000
south-east Mexico	n.a.	100 000)	
Costa Rica	195	15 000	15 000
TOTAL	1 174	556 600	729 200

* Total in Angola and Zambia.

N.B. These figures are valid for the time at which each sample was taken.

When IEC publishes fuller versions of the case studies in Sudan and central America, as we plan to do, the questionnaires will be included. In the meantime, more detailed information is available on request from the address on page ii of this Broadsheet.

IEC BROADSHEETS ON DISTANCE LEARNING

All enquiries about titles in the series should be sent to the International Extension College, 18 Brooklands Avenue, Cambridge CB2 2HN, England.

Rural education

Multi-media approaches to rural education, Tony Dodds, 1972
Voices for development: the Tanzanian national radio study campaigns, Budd L Hall and Tony Dodds, 1974
Seeking the barefoot technologist, International Extension College, 1978
Bokaa: living and learning in an African village, Kunnie Kooijman, 1980
Basic education for adults: a report of a workshop on southern Africa, International Extension College, 1983

Techniques of distance teaching

The techniques of writing correspondence courses, Hilary Perraton, 1973
Technical education at a distance, Jenny Fakes, 1973
Correspondence teaching at university, July El-Bushra, 1973
Training teachers by correspondence, Peter Kinyanjui, 1974
Editing distance teaching texts, Janet Jenkins, 1976
Teaching science at a distance, John arap Siele and Gerry Hacker, 1977
The cost of distance education, Hilary Perraton, 1982
Mass media for health education, Janet Jenkins, 1983
Secondary education at a distance, Hilary Perraton, 1983

Case studies

The Mauritius College of the Air: the first two years, Tony Dodds, 1973
Family planning education in action: some community-centred approaches, Judy El-Bushra and Susan Perl, 1976
Starting the Botswana Extension College, Hilary Perraton, 1977
The invisible college: NEC 1963-1979, Janet Jenkins and Hilary Perraton
The Lesotho Distance Teaching Centre: five years' learning, Paud Murphy, 1981